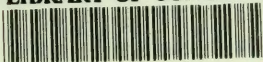


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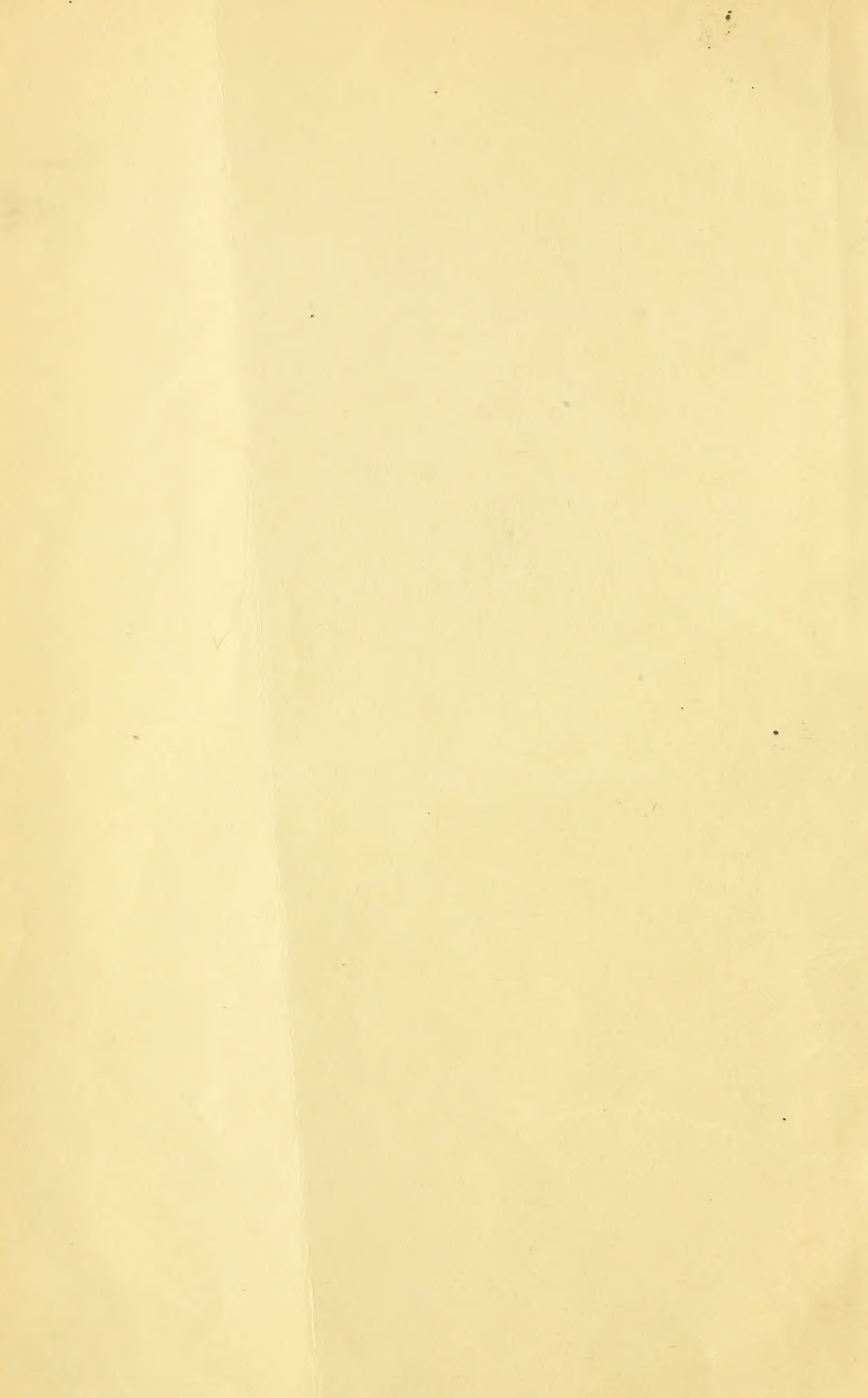




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THE
HISTORY OF GEORGIA

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Containing Brief Sketches
of the Most Remarkable Events
Up to the Present Day
(1784)

BY CAPT. HUGH M'CALL

IN ONE VOLUME

. With a vast benevolence of soul
To range like OGLETHORPE from pole to pole.

—Pope.

REPRINTED BY
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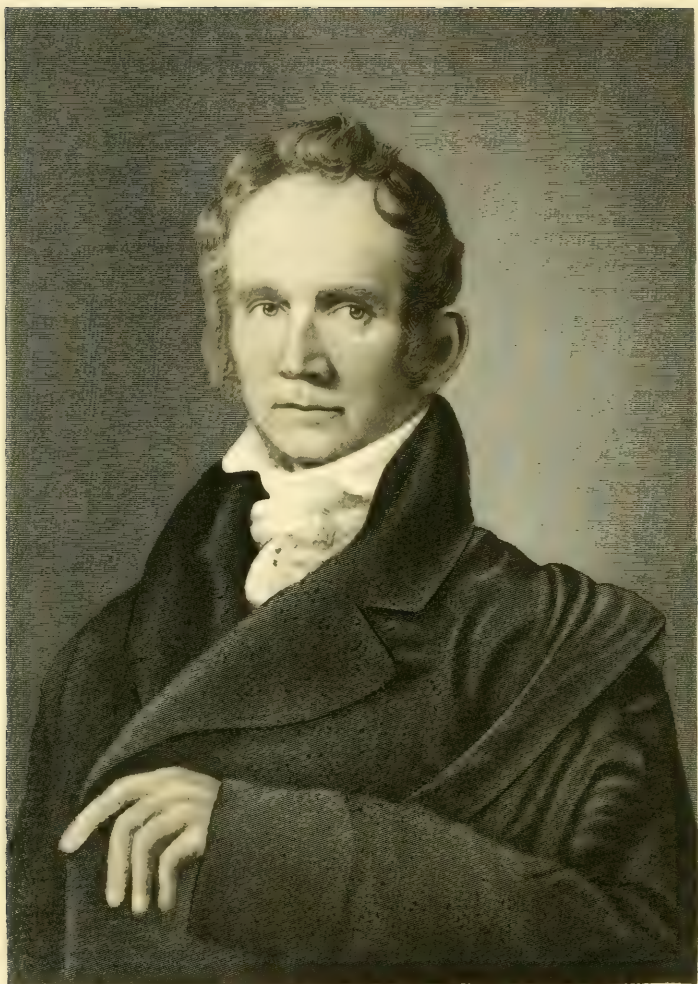
THE PUBLISHER'S WORD

This is a reprint, not a revision. The first volume of McCall's History was published in 1811, the second volume in 1816.

Major McCall was nearly a man at the close of the Revolution, later a gallant officer in the regular army. He learned devotion to duty, and from a sense of duty combined with love of country, he wrote his History of Georgia while suffering constant and tormenting pain, and confined to a roller chair by his physical disabilities. Having served faithfully in the armies of his country, he did not want the record of what was truly its heroic period to be lost, and in so far as he could preserve that record, in spite of age and feebleness and pain, he did so.

There are many curious phrases in the book, many familiar words the spelling of which does not look familiar. There are a number of statements not altogether accurate in detail. But I have made no changes. I prefer to give to our readers the work exactly as it came from Major McCall's hand, written at a time when a great many men who had been soldiers of the Revolution were yet in the prime of life. Notwithstanding its defects of punctuation, of grammar and of spelling, it is a work of intense interest to Georgians, and it is reproduced exactly as it was first printed ninety-eight years ago, (except that the two volumes are included in one,) with the idea that it will be helpful to the Georgians of this day to read of what the Georgians of that day did and suffered.

1677



Hugh M. Ball

HUGH McCALL

IT is a matter of much regret that Georgia's first historian, who with such commendable efforts rescued from oblivion many of the early traditions of our State, should himself have left such scanty material for his own biographer. The life of this modest and worthy man has been too long neglected, and the reader must be content with only a brief sketch from the fragments gathered from various sources.

In the old Colonial Cemetery at Savannah, upon a plain marble slab level with the ground, may be read the following inscription:

"Sacred to the memory of
HUGH McCALL,
Brevet Major in the U. States army.
Born in N. Carolina
Feb. 17, 1767,
died
June 10, 1824.

He served the U. S. in various capacities 30 years; the last 20 years under severe bodily suffering, but with usefulness to himself, his country and his friends."

It is singular that so accurate a historian as Colonel C. C. Jones in his published address before the Georgia Historical Society, in 1881, refers to Hugh McCall, the historian, as an "officer in the army of the Revolution." As the subject of this sketch was only eight years old at the beginning of that memorable struggle, Colonel Jones obviously confounds the name of the historian with that of his father, James McCall, or of his uncle Hugh McCall, both of whom rendered valuable service in the Revolution.

The following sketch of the McCall family was written in 1829 by Thomas McCall, Esq., a brother of the historian, who lived on a plantation on the Oconee river near Dublin in Laurens county, Ga.

"The family of which I am a descendant were Scots, and in Scotland lived in the neighborhood of the family of Calhoun, properly Calquhoun. The time of their migration is not known,

but the McCall, Harris and Calhoun families passed over from Scotland in the same ship to the northeast of Ireland, where they settled and remained two entire generations, when the three families migrated to Pennsylvania, where my grandfather James McCall was married to Janet Harris, the elder daughter of James Harris, and settled, as a farmer, on Canacocheque creek, where my father James McCall, Agnes, Hugh and Rachel were born, the former on the 11th of August, 1741. The three families removed from Canacocheque to New river, or little Kenhoway, in the western part of Virginia, where they remained for a number of years, and where Thomas McCall, Wm. McCall, and Jane (afterward married to Robert Harris) were born. The three families were driven away by the Indians after several of the Calhouns were killed. James Harris, my great-grandfather, remained on New river, and there died at the advanced age of 110 years. His children were Janet McCall Robertson, Isabell, Martha, and Wylly. James McCall, Robert Robertson and James Wylly settled in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, where my father, James McCall, married Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas McCall, second cousin of my grandfather James McCall. John William and Patrick Calhoun removed into South Carolina and gave name to Calhoun's settlement on Little river, a branch of Long Cane. My grandfather James' family married in Mecklenburg, viz., my father James to Elizabeth McCall, Agnes to Elias Alexander, Rachel to Thomas McCall, son of Francis, a distant relation, not much liked by the family—ran away; Thomas married Jane, daughter of Samuel Harris; William married Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Stewart; and Jane married Robert, son of John Harris. My maternal grandmother was Margaret Greenfield—had two sisters, Esther and ———, the former married Andrew Eliott and the latter married James Barr. My grandfather James had a brother Thomas, who settled at Wilmington in Delaware, and I think another brother William, of whom I know nothing. James Harris, my great-grandfather, was related to the family

of Livingstons, which went from Scotland to Holland, removed from Holland to New York (New Netherlands) and there remained. My grandfather, Thomas McCall, had children; viz., Elizabeth my mother, Margaret, Jane, Martha, and Ann and Mary who died in youth. Margaret married Thomas Harrison and had a number of children; Jane married John Luckie and had a number of children; Martha married Samuel Nelson and had several children. I know not what became of her or them. None of my family were men of letters except Thomas my uncle, who when at college changed his name to Thomas Harris McCaule. His posterity, Laird, Melinda Penelope, Leroy, Thomas 1st, and 2nd, and Jane, all died without issue, except Melinda, who married William Pinder and has two living children, viz., Thomas, and Jane who married Captain J. M. Russell, and later married Captain Phillips of Manchester, England, had a daughter (Melinda) and died. My father's descendants were Thomas, Hugh, Janet, Margaret, James, Harris, Elizabeth and William—all dead but Thomas, Janet and Margaret. Thomas married Henrietta Fall in 1787, and their issue were Eliza Henrietta, died young; Selina Mary Ann, married to Virgil H. Vivien who has many children in Florida; Louisa Freeman, married to George Gaines, has three children, and resides in Decatur county; Thomas William and James, both dead; and youngest still-born. He, in 1798, married Elizabeth Mary Ann Smith, by whom he had Sarah Georgiana, married to Colonel Spivey; Elizabeth Smith married to Doctor Thomas Moore; Harriet Moore, married to Major Mizell; Margaret, died young; Janet Harris married Ira Stanley; Margaret Sanders, married Jeremiah H. Yopp, Esq.

“Patrick Calhoun, father of John C. Calhoun, Vice-President of the United States, paid us a visit in 1794 or '93, and gave his benediction to three of my oldest children, and said to me: ‘This is the fifth generation of your family that I have had by the hand and have intimately known,’ and mentioned to me several of the above circumstances.

"My father was an adviser in what was called the Regulation in North Carolina about the year 1768 or '69, and that was the real beginning of the American Revolution. He, in 1771 or 1772, removed into the Calhoun settlement, South Carolina, and became an active officer in the Revolution. He was captain of minute men under the government in 1774, and rose in rank to that of colonel, and died of smallpox and a wound after having been in seventeen engagements against the enemy. Died in April, 1781.

"I was born 19th of March, 1764, old style, which was properly at the time 19th or 30th of March, 1765, new style, uncertain which day, as those old folks, all farmers, were not very learned and adhered to the old style and the old year for a number of years after the beginning of the year was altered from 25th of March to 1st of January."

From these facts it appears that while Major Hugh McCall, the historian, was himself too young to take an active part in the Revolution, he lived amid the stirring scenes of that great struggle, and upon his youthful memory were indelibly stamped the dramatic records and traditions which he so faithfully describes.

But little is known of his early life, but when quite a young man he became interested in military affairs, and for a long time he was connected with the United States army. On May 12th, 1794, he was ensign of the 3rd sub-legion, and May, 1796, he became first lieutenant. He was made deputy paymaster-general January 31st, 1800, and August of the same year, he was advanced to the position of captain. On the reorganization of the army, in 1802, he was retained in the second infantry, and on July 10th, 1812, he was breveted major. On July 15th, 1815, he was mustered out of service. On March 31st, 1818, he became military storekeeper at Savannah and in May, 1821, he served in the same capacity at Charleston, South Carolina. For eighteen months he lived at Point Peter. From 1806 to 1823, he was the jailer of Savannah, and it was during this

period that he wrote his *History of Georgia*. Many years before his death, his health failed and he became an invalid. He suffered much bodily pain, and when not actually confined to his bed, he had to use a roller chair to move about his room.

This was not an age of books and official records and the experiences and traditions of those who actually took part in the War of the Revolution were fast fading from memory. It was fortunate, indeed, for Georgia's early history, that Major Hugh McCall, at this crisis, though suffering from a painful disease, and in the face of great difficulties, undertook to rescue from oblivion the history of his State, and fix in imperishable record the deeds of her distinguished sons. From his own notes and experiences, and from the lips of many of the chief actors of the scenes he portrays, his materials were taken, and with wonderful patience and fortitude he prepared for the press the first volume of the *History of Georgia*, which was published in 1811. In the preface he says: "The occurrences of a new country, when dressed in their best attire are not very engaging, and it is to be expected that many interesting facts have escaped the author's notice, owing to the limited scope of his researches, in consequence of his affliction under a portion of disease and decrepitude almost without a parallel in the history of human life."

In 1816, he published the second volume of his *History of Georgia*, thus bringing down the record of the State to the end of the Revolution.

While his *History of Georgia* is not free from legitimate criticism as to style and historic treatment, still it is of inestimable value in the preservation of many of the important facts upon which are based the writings of later historians. He did not attempt a finished production, but he collected the material for the future historian, and in estimating the value of his work we must bear in mind what Jared Sparks says of it: "The work has its merits, but its author labored under disadvantages, and his materials were scanty."

Major McCall was never married, and his will, which is of

record in the office of the Ordinary in Savannah, shows that he lived in moderate circumstances. After a lingering illness and years of bodily suffering, he died in Savannah June 10th, 1824, and was buried in the old Colonial Cemetery, now in the midst of the city.

The only likeness of him in existence is an oil portrait in possession of the Georgia Historical Society at Savannah, from which the accompanying engraving is made.

As the years go by, his valuable work is more and more appreciated, and for all time he will be known and honored as Georgia's first historian.

OTIS ASHMORE.

THE HISTORY OF GEORGIA.

CHAPTER I.

IT is natural and right that we should feel a lively interest and concern in the lives and fortunes of our ancestors. When we behold them braving the horrors of the desert; surmounting the difficulties of an inhospitable climate; exploring forests infested with wild beasts, and surrounded by savages; their courage and perseverance inspire us with astonishment and admiration. We are pleased with a recital of the dangers they have escaped, and the difficulties they have encountered, in planning and executing the establishment of a country, where we are now in the enjoyment of liberty, peace and plenty. These reflections, justly fill us with enthusiastic esteem, respect and affection, for the stock from which we have descended.

From the best sources of information which can be resorted to at the present day, Sir Walter Raleigh is the reputed discoverer of that part of the United States, now denominated Georgia. This man, so greatly distinguished for his genius, courage, enterprise, and unmerited fate, under the government of a pusillanimous monarch, had been deeply interested in the adventures of his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert; and anxious to complete the discoveries which he had commenced, determined to prosecute them with vigor. Accordingly Sir Walter made application to queen Elizabeth for a patent similar to the one granted to Gilbert, which was obtained on the 26th of March, 1584, to explore North-America, and take possession of such countries as he might discover; and on the 23d of April, he dispatched two ships under the command of captains Amadas

and Barlow, for the purpose of visiting the countries of which he contemplated the future settlement. And to avoid the errors of Gilbert in shaping his course too far to the frozen regions of the North, took the route by the West India Islands, and approached the North American continent at the Gulf of Florida, from whence he coasted and occasionally touched the land, visiting and conversing with the natives, until they reached Pamlico sound on the borders of North-Carolina, thence along the coast northward, and returned to England in September; reporting that he had discovered a fine country called Windang-ocoa, to which the queen gave the name of Virginia. It is doubted by some historians whether Sir Walter Raleigh accompanied this expedition in person, or whether he ever visited North-America.* When James Edward Oglethorpe, the principal founder of the colony of Georgia, came over from England, it is said he brought with him Sir Walter Raleigh's written journal; and by the latitude of Savannah and the traditions of the natives, it appears that Sir Walter Raleigh landed at the mouth of Savannah River, and visited the bluff on which the city was afterwards built.† During his wild and chimerical attempts for finding *El Dorado* or the golden country, it is not improbable that this bold persevering adventurer, visited many places on the coast, of which we have no account. Having been stripped of the royal favor on the accession of king James, after the death of queen Elizabeth, of whom he was a favorite; and

* Burke of Virginia.

† Extract of a letter published in a South-Carolina Gazette, dated Charleston, 22d of March, 1733.

“Mr. Oglethorpe has with him, Sir Walter Raleigh's written journal, and by the latitude of the place, the marks and traditions of the Indians, it is the place where he first went on shore, and talked with the Indians, and was the first Englishman they ever saw; and about half a mile from Savannah is a high mount of earth under which lies their chief King: and the Indians informed Mr. Oglethorpe, that their King desired before he died, that he might be buried at the spot where he talked with that great good man.” This extract was republished in a pamphlet, written by Benjamin Martyn, the trustees secretary.

having been unjustly imprisoned under an unfounded charge of treason, by which he fell a victim to policy and not to justice; therefore it is not improbable that such a series of persecutions occasioned the loss of memoranda, which would have been valuable and interesting at the present day.

When Mr. Oglethorpe communicated the contents of Sir Walter's journal to the Indians in Georgia, they stated from traditional communications handed down to them, that their fathers once held a conference with a warrior who came over the great waters, whose memory they had been taught to revere from the high opinion formed of him by their ancestors, and pointed out to Mr. Oglethorpe at a little distance from Yamacraw bluff, a high mound of earth where the Indian king was interred, who talked with the English warrior; he having desired to be buried where this conference was held. The reader must be left at liberty to draw his own conclusions.

The State of Georgia was included in a patent granted to South-Carolina; first as a proprietary government; and in 1719, it became a regal one, bounded by the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north latitude.

The policy of planting a new colony south of Savannah river, on principles essentially different from those by which South-Carolina was governed, was an object of great importance to that province. A jealousy had long existed between Great-Britain and Spain, respecting the boundaries of their settlements in North and South America, in which those nations charged each other with unjust annoyance to trade between the mother countries and their colonies. The rapidity of population in North-America, and its growth into commercial consequence, promised a rich source of traffic as well as maritime strength to England. Agriculture was the prime object, and the culture of rice, which held up the most promising source of wealth, could not be carried on successfully without the assistance of Africans, whose constitutions seem formed by nature to bear the heat and exposure of a climate, most favorable for its pro-

duction. The colony of South-Carolina at that time was numerously stocked with negroes, who had been brought from Africa by British merchants, and sold to the planters, whose wealth was estimated almost exclusively by the number of their slaves. It was the interest of Spain to throw every possible obstacle in the way of the planters of the British colonies, and none promised to be more effectual than that of inveigling the negroes from the service of their owners, pointing out to them the happiness of freedom, and promising them all the privileges of his catholic majesty's subjects. In order that these allurements might be the more effectually accomplished, a black regiment was formed, consisting entirely of runaway slaves from Carolina. As there was no war then existing between the two nations, remonstrances were presented to the governor of Augustine, without having the desired effect. The boundaries between the British provinces and Florida, had not been settled by any public agreement between England and Spain, neither were they marked or well understood. To prevent negroes escaping from the Carolinas to Augustine, a fort was built on the Alatomaha river, and garrisoned. This gave offence to the governor of Augustine, who complained of it to the court of Madrid, as an encroachment on the dominions of his royal master. The Spanish ambassador at London lodged the complaint before the court of Great-Britain, and demanded that orders should be sent to remove the troops, and demolish the fort. It was agreed that the governors of the respective nations in America, should meet in an amicable manner, and adjust the respective boundaries between the British and Spanish dominions in that quarter; accordingly Don Francisco Menendez, and Don Joseph De Robiero, in behalf of Spain, went to Charleston, to hold a conference on the subject, with the executive officers of government. At this meeting, Arthur Middleton, president of the council, demonstrated to the Spanish deputies, that the fort against which complaint had been made, was built within the bounds of the charter granted to the proprietors;

that the pretensions of Spain to the lands in question were groundless; and that the fort in question was erected for the purpose of defending themselves and their property, against the depredations of the Indians, under the jurisdiction of Spain; and begged to know the reasons why his catholic majesty's governor, in Florida, protected felons and debtors that fled to them; and why negroes were encouraged to leave their masters' service, and take refuge in Augustine? The deputies replied, that the governor of Florida would deliver up all felons and debtors; but that he had express orders of twenty years standing, to detain all slaves who should fly to St. Augustine for liberty and protection, and that the design of his royal master was the exercise of humanity, and a disposition to convert them to the christian religion; and that the king had ordered compensation to be made to the owners of runaway slaves, in money, which, however, was seldom or never complied with. The negotiation ended unsatisfactorily to both parties, the fort was soon after burned down, and the southern frontier of South-Carolina was again left exposed and defenceless.

The principal object of Spain in possessing the coast north of the Mississippi, was to secure the Indian trade brought down that river, as well as those north of it. The coast was garrisoned with troops, and agriculture was but little attended to. Spain justified herself in these acts of aggression, on the common right of all the human race to freedom. The colonists in return claimed a right to the labour of slaves, for whom they had paid a price equal to the value of their services, and urged that their condition in that capacity was greatly ameliorated, by bringing them from a country where wretchedness, misery and want, were the common lot of the whole race. In this diversity of opinion held out by two nations, separated but a short distance from each other, it is easily perceived that discord would soon kindle into hostility. Anxious for the adoption of some plan by which Carolinians would be relieved from an evil from which they foresaw the destruction of their colony,

they readily encouraged the planting of another between them and their troublesome neighbours in Florida. With these views they held out the advantages of forming a new colony between Savannah and the Alatomaha rivers, and encouraged the formation of a company in England, consisting of men of wealth, influence, and respectability, who were willing to embark in the humane design of sending over a number of poor people who had neither lands, or other means of supporting themselves and families: accordingly twenty-one persons petitioned the throne, and on the 9th of June 1732, obtained a charter* for a separate and distinct province from Carolina, between the Savannah and Alatomaha rivers, by the name of Georgia, in honor of the king by whom this charter was granted.

His majesty George the second by his letters patent, recited amongst other things, that many of his poor subjects were through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessities, and would be glad to be settled in any of his majesty's provinces in America, where by cultivating the waste and desolate lands, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence, but also strengthen his majesty's colonies and increase the trade, navigation and wealth of his majesty's realms; and that the province of North America had been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies, more especially that of South-Carolina, whose southern frontier continued unsettled and lay open to the neighboring savages; and that to relieve the wants of the said poor people and to protect his majesty's subjects in South-Carolina, a regular colony of the said poor people should be settled and established on the southern frontiers of Carolina; did for the considerations aforesaid, constitute a corporation by the name of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America. The king's trusty and well beloved John Lord Viscount Purcival, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, Stephen Hales, Thomas Tower, Rob-

* See appendix No. 1.

ert Moore, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Burton, Richard Bandy, Arthur Bradford, Samuel Smith, Adam Anderson and Thomas Coram, Esq's. and such other members as might thereafter be appointed; were vested with powers to purchase and take lands, to sue, and be sued, to have a common seal, and to choose members of the said corporation on the third Thursday in March yearly, with restraining clauses. That no member of the said corporation should have any salary, perquisites, fee, benefit or profit whatsoever for acting therein, or have any office, place or employment of profit under said corporation; with a direction for the said corporation every year to lay an account in writing before the lord chancellor, chief justice of the king's bench, master of the rolls, chief justice of the common pleas, and chief baron of the exchequer, or any two of them, of all monies or effects by them received or expended for carrying on the good purposes aforesaid, with a power to make by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances; and granted amongst other things to the said corporation and their successors, under the reservations therein mentioned, seven undivided parts (the whole into eight equal parts to be divided) of all those lands, countries and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of South-Carolina in America, which lies from the most northern stream of a river there commonly called Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, unto the most southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westward from the heads of said rivers respectively in direct lines to the south seas; to have and to hold the same, to them the said corporation and their successors forever, for the better support of the said colony under the yearly rent of four shillings proclamation money of South-Carolina, for every hundred acres of the said lands, forever; which the said corporation should grant, demise, plant or settle, but not to commence until ten years after such grant, demise, planting or settling: and erected and created the said lands, countries, and territories

into one independent and separate province by the name of Georgia, and made the inhabitants who should reside therein, free and not subject to any laws, orders, statutes, or constitutions of South-Carolina, except the commander in chief of the militia; and authorised the said corporation for the term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, to form and prepare laws, statutes and ordinances for the government of the said colony, not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, to be presented under their common seal to his majesty in council, for his approbation or disallowance: and that the said laws so approved of, should be in full force and virtue within the said province: and empowered the common council for the time being of the said corporation, or the major part of them, to dispose of, expend and apply, all the monies and effects belonging to the said corporation, and to make contracts for carrying and effecting the good purposes therein intended: and that they should from time to time appoint a treasurer, and such other officers, ministers and servants of the said corporation, as they should see proper, for the good management of their affairs, and at their pleasure, to remove them and appoint others in their stead; and that they should appoint reasonable salaries, perquisites and other rewards, for their labor or services; and that such officers should be sworn before they act, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places; and declared, that the treasurer and secretary for the time being, should be incapable of being members of the said corporation; and granted to the said corporation that it should be lawful for them, their officers and agents, to transport and convey into the said province, such of his majesty's subjects and foreigners, as were willing to go and inhabit and reside there; and declared all persons born within the said province, and their children and posterity, to be free denizens, as if they had been born within any of his majesty's dominions. And empowered the said common council, in the name of the corporation, and under their common seal, to distribute,

convey and assign, and set over such particular portions of the said lands, tenements and hereditaments, unto such of his majesty's subjects, and others, willing to live in the said colony, upon such terms, and for such estates, and upon such rents, reservations and conditions, as the same might lawfully be granted; and as to the said common council, or the major part of them, should seem fit and proper; provided that no grant should be made of any part of the said lands, unto, or in trust for, or for the benefit of any member of the said corporation: and that no greater quantity of the said lands be granted either entirely or in parcels, to, or to the use of, or in trust for any one person, than five hundred acres; and declared that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning thereof, should be absolutely null and void. And granted, that the said corporation for the term of twenty-one years from the date of the letters patent, should have powers to erect and constitute judicatures and courts of record, or other courts, to be held in his majesty's name, for the hearing and determining of all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, complaints, actions, matters, causes and things whatsoever, arising or happening within the said province, or between persons inhabiting or residing there, and for awarding and making out executions thereupon; and directed the said corporation to register or cause to be registered, all leases, grants, plantings, conveyances, settlements and improvements whatsoever, as should at any time be made of any lands, tenements or hereditaments, within the said province; and yearly transmit authentic accounts thereof, unto the auditor of the plantations, or his deputy, and to the surveyor of South-Carolina, to inspect and survey the same, to ascertain the quit-rents that should become due according to the reservation before mentioned; but not to have, or take any gratuity, fee or reward, for such survey or inspection, on forfeiture of their offices; with a proviso that all leases, grants or conveyances, to be made of any lands within the said province, or a memorial containing the substance or effect thereof, should

be registered with the auditor of the plantations, within one year from the date thereof; otherwise that the same should be void. And directed, that all rents, issues or profits, which should come to the said corporation, issuing or arising out of, or from the said province, should be applied in such manner as would most improve and enlarge the said colony, and best answer the good purposes therein mentioned, and for defraying all other charges about the same; and directed the said corporation from time to time, to give in to one of the secretaries of state, and to the commissioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progress of the said colony. And directed, that the said common council should from time to time, for the said term of twenty-one years from the date of the said letters patent, have power to appoint all such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers and officers, civil and military, both by sea and land, within the said district, as they should think fit and needful for the government of the said colony, except such officers as should be appointed for managing, collecting and receiving such of his majesty's revenues as should arise within the said province, with a proviso, that every governor so appointed, should be approved by his majesty, and qualify himself, as often as governors in America, are by law required to do, and give security for observing the acts of parliament relating to trade and navigation; and obeying all instruction from his majesty or any acting under his authority, pursuant to the said acts. And granted, that the said corporation, for the said term of twenty-one years, from the date of the said letters patent, should have power by any commander or other officer for that purpose appointed, to train, instruct, exercise and govern the militia, for the special defence and safety of the said colony; to assemble in martial array, and put in war-like posture, the inhabitants of the said colony; and in time of actual war, invasion or rebellion, to use and exercise the law martial, and also to erect forts, and fortify any place or places within the said colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary ammu-

nition, provision and stores of war for offence and defence, and from time to time to commit the custody and government of them to such person or persons, as to them should seem meet; declaring that the governor or commander in chief of South-Carolina, should have the chief command of the militia of Georgia, and that they should observe his orders. And granted, that the said corporation should have power to import or export their goods, at or from any port or ports that should be appointed by his majesty within the said province for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other port in Carolina. And declared, that after the end of the said twenty-one years, such form of government and method of making laws, statutes and ordinances for the government of the said province and its inhabitants, should be observed and established within the same, as his majesty, his heirs and successors should ordain and appoint, and should be agreeable to law; and that after the end of the said twenty-one years, the governor and all officers, civil and military, within the said province, should be appointed by his majesty, his heirs and successors.

In pursuance of this charter, the trustees (of whom lord Purcival was president) met in London about the middle of July, for the purpose of fixing on some fit person to superintend the settlement of the colony, and to establish rules for its government: and in order to fulfill the intents and purposes therein expressed, it was thought necessary for the trustees to send over such poor people and foreign protestants, as were willing to live in Georgia, not only to cultivate the lands, but at the same time to strengthen the other colonies. The inhabitants were to be considered as planters and soldiers, and were provided with arms for their defence, as well as tools for cultivation; and a due portion of attention was occasionally to be turned to the exercise of both. Towns were to be laid out for their settlements, and lands allotted to each of them for their maintenance as near to these towns as convenient, that they might never have occasion to be too far distant from their

towns, which were to be regarded as their garrisons, so that each man might reach his post of defence at short notice, in case of emergency. As the military strength of the province was particularly to be taken care of, it was deemed necessary to establish such tenures of lands as might most effectually preserve the number of planters, or soldiers, equal to the number of lots of land within a narrow compass; therefore each lot of land was to be considered as a military fief, and to contain so much in quantity as should be deemed equal to the support of a planter and his family—fifty acres were judged sufficient, and not too much for that purpose, and provision was made to prevent an accumulation of several lots into the claim or possession of any one person, lest the garrison should be lessened and the defence weakened; and likewise to prevent a division of these lots into smaller parcels, since each lot when entire, was deemed no more than sufficient for one planter, but if subdivided, would be too scanty for a subsistence, and become useless.

In the infancy of the colony, the lands were to be granted in tail male, in preference to any other tenure, as the most likely to answer these purposes; for if the grants were to be made in tail general, it was thought that the strength of each township would soon be diminished, in as much as every female heir in tail, who was unmarried, would have been entitled to one lot, and consequently have taken from the garrison the portion of one soldier; and by intermarriages, several lots might have been united into one; and if such tenant in tail general, had several daughters, his lot must have been divided equally amongst them as coparceners. Other inconveniences were thought likely to arise from estates in tail general: women being incapable of acting as soldiers, or serving on juries; these duties and many others, such as watchings, wardings, &c., would return so much oftener to each man, in proportion as the number of men in the township was lessened, and by that means become very burthensome to the remaining male lot holders; and in case of

an attack from an enemy, the township would be less able to make a defence; and as it was not thought proper to grant estates in tail general, it appeared to be more inconvenient to grant them in fee simple, which estate would have been attended with all the objections before mentioned, incident to estates in tail general. The right of alienation being inseparable from any estate in fee, the grantee might have sold, mortgaged, or aliened his lands to whomsoever he thought fit, which was a power not to be intrusted with the people sent over, for the following reasons:

1st. From a consideration of their condition.

2d. From a consideration of the purposes for which they were sent.

3d. From a consideration of the persons to whom lands might be aliened.—And

4th. From a consideration that it might occasion a monopoly of lands contrary to the true intent and meaning of the charter.

As to the first; the persons to be sent over were poor indigent people, who had for the most part, so indiscreetly managed what they had previously been the owners of, that it did not seem safe or proper to entrust so absolute a property in their hands, at least in the infancy of the colony; until by a careful and industrious deportment, they had given some evidences to induce a belief that they would prove more judicious and discreet managers for the future.

As to the second; they were sent over to inhabit, cultivate and secure by a personal residence, the lands granted to them within the province; and they voluntarily engaging so to do, and in expectation that they would perform these engagements, they were to be maintained at the expense of the public, or the trustees, during their voyage, and their passages paid, and were provided with tools, arms, seeds, and other necessities, and supported from the public store; for which reasons the public may be said to have purchased these people for a valuable consideration. Their personal residence and all the industry and labor

they would bestow in the cultivation of the province, for a considerable time, would not compensate the public and the proprietors for their expenses.

As to the third; it was thought unsafe to grant them such an estate, as it might be the means of introducing such sort of people as would defeat what the trustees had always at heart, viz. the preservation of the protestant religion in that province, which was necessary to be taken care of, both on a political and religious account; the French lying on the west, and the Spaniards on the south of the province of Georgia.

As to the fourth; a monopoly of several lots into one hand would necessarily have been the consequence of a free liberty of buying and selling lands within the province, which would have been directly contrary to the objects, intent and meaning of the charter, whereby the grant of lands to any one person, is limited to five hundred acres.

And a further inconvenience seemed likely to arise in every case, where the tenant in fee died without issue, or without having disposed of his lot by will; the heir general who might have the right to it, might not happen to be found out for many years after, especially if he was a foreign protestant, and in that time the buildings and improvements might fall into ruins, to the great damage and inconvenience of the adjoining lot-holders. These restraints were intended for the good of the whole, and whenever particular cases required it, they were to be taken off and dispensed with: and upon any application for leave to alienate lands, licenses were always to be granted under certain restrictions for that purpose; and when the succession of females became less dangerous to the province, by the growing strength and increase of the people, and by the security provided for it by his majesty's forces, the trustees resolved then, to enlarge the tenures of the lands to estates in tail general.

The tenures being thus settled, it was thought necessary to require of the inhabitants, that they should cultivate their lands within such given time as should be specified in their grants;

and in order to raise raw silk, which was contemplated as one of the principal objects of attention, a certain proportion of white mulberry trees were to be planted, and in their respective grants, ten years were to be allowed for the cultivation, and one hundred white mulberry trees were to be planted on every ten acres of land when cleared; with a power vested in the trustees to re-enter such lands as should remain uncultivated. And as other persons applied to the trustees for grants of land, in order to come over and settle at their own expense, particular grants were made under the same tenure, and on the following conditions; viz. that they should within twelve months from the date of their grants, go to and arrive in Georgia, with one man servant for every fifty acres granted them, and should with such servants abide, settle, inhabit and continue there for three years: that they should within ten years, clear and cultivate one-fifth part of the land granted them; and within the next ten years, clear and cultivate three-fifth parts more of the said lands, and plant one thousand white mulberry trees upon every one hundred acres thereof when cleared; and that they should not at any time hire, keep, lodge, board or employ any negro within the colony of Georgia, on any conditions whatsoever, without special leave from the trustees: which conditions were readily approved of, and counterparts executed by all such as chose to become adventurers; and to those who desired to name their successors on failure of male issue, special covenants were entered into by the trustees for that purpose, agreeable to their own propositions; and by way of encouragement to their male servants to behave well, like covenants were entered into, to grant to every such man servant, when requested thereunto by any writing under the hand and seal of the master, twenty acres of land under the same tenure.

In the execution of this laudable plan, the trustees having first set the example themselves, by largely contributing towards the scheme, undertook to solicit benefactions from others, and to apply the money towards clothing, arming, purchasing uten-

sils for cultivation, and transporting such poor people as should consent to go over and begin a settlement. They did not confine their views to the subjects of Great-Britain alone, but wisely and humanely opened a door also, for oppressed and indigent protestants from other nations. To prevent any misapplication or abuse of the charitable donations, they agreed to deposit the money in the bank of England, and to enter in a book to be kept for that purpose, the names of all the charitable benefactors, together with the sums contributed by each of them; and to bind and oblige themselves, and their successors in office, to lay a statement of the money received and expended, before the lord chancellor of England, the lords chief justices of the king's bench and common pleas, the master of the rolls, and the lord chief baron of the exchequer.

When this scheme of the trustees with respect to the settlement of Georgia, was made public, the well wishers of mankind in every part of Great-Britain, highly approved of an undertaking so humane and disinterested. To consult the public happiness, regardless of private interest, and to stretch forth a bountiful hand for the relief of their distressed fellow-creatures, were considered as examples of uncommon benevolence and virtue; therefore worthy of general imitation. The ancient Romans, famous for their courage and magnanimity, ranked the planting of colonies amongst their noblest works, which added greater lustre to their empire, than the most glorious wars and victories. By the latter, old cities and countries were plundered and destroyed; by the former, new ones were founded and established: the latter ravaged the dominions of enemies, and depopulated the world; the former improved new territories, provided for unfortunate friends, and added strength to the state. The benevolent founders of the colony of Georgia, perhaps may challenge the annals of any nation, to produce a design more generous and praise-worthy than the one which they had undertaken. They voluntarily offered their money, labor and time, for promoting what appeared to

them, the good of others, leaving themselves no other reward, than the gratification arising from virtuous actions. Amongst other great ends which they had in view, was the civilization of the savages: if their regulations were not effectual in accomplishing the laudable purposes they had in contemplation; if their plan of settlement proved too narrow and circumscribed, they are nevertheless, entitled to all the credit due to their praise-worthy intentions, and disinterested motives. In conformity with the charter, a common seal was ordered to be made; the device was, on one side, two figures resting upon urns, representing the rivers *Alatamaha* and *Savannah*, the north-eastern and south-western boundaries of the province; between them the genius of the colony was seated, with a cap of liberty on her head, a spear in one hand, and a cornucopia in the other, with the inscription, COLONIA GEORGIA AUG: on the other side was a representation of silk worms, some beginning and others having finished their webbs, with the motto, NON SIBI SED ALIIS; a very proper emblem, signifying that the nature of the establishment was such, that neither the first trustees, nor their successors, could have any views to their own interest, it being entirely designed for the benefit and happiness of others. The intentions of the trustees, principally, in forming this colony, were to provide for poor people, who were incapable of subsisting themselves and families in Europe, and to settle a frontier to South-Carolina, which was much exposed by the small number of its white inhabitants; it was therefore determined to prohibit the use of negro slaves: it was also thought impossible that the poor who should be sent from hence, and the foreign persecuted protestants, who must go in a manner naked into the colony, could be able to purchase or subsist negroes if they had them, and that it would be a charge too great for the trustees to undertake; and they would thereby be disabled from sending white people, whose habits they intended to change to industry. The first cost of a negro would be about thirty pounds sterling, and this sum would be sufficient to pay

the passage over, provide tools and other necessaries, and defray the other charges and subsistence of a white man for one year; in which time it might be hoped that the planters own labor would produce him some subsistence; consequently the purchase money of every negro, abstracting the expense of subsisting him as well as his master, by being applied that way, would prevent the sending over a white man, who would be a security to the province; whereas the negro would render that security more precarious. It was thought the white man, by having a negro slave, would be less disposed to labor himself, and that a great portion of his time would be employed in keeping the negro at work, and in watching against any danger he or his family might apprehend from the slave; and that the planter's wife and children would by the decease or absence of the husband, be at the mercy of the negro. It was also apprehended that the Spaniards at Augustine, would be continually inveigling away their negroes and encouraging them to insurrections. That the first might be easily accomplished, has been confirmed in many instances in Carolina, and an asylum furnished by the Spaniards in times of profound peace; and insurrections had been excited from the same source to the great terror of the people, and even endangered the loss of the province, though it had been established so many years. The white population was scarcely equal to a secure defence against internal invasion. It was also calculated that the sort of produce designed to be attended to in the colony, would not require such labor as to make the assistance of negroes necessary: the produce of Carolina was chiefly rice, consequently required the labor of that description of people, to make it profitable; whereas the silk and other products, intended by the trustees, to be encouraged in Georgia, were of that light kind of work, where poor women and children might be usefully and advantageously employed. It was also apprehended that if the persons who would go over to Georgia at their own expense, were permitted to own negroes, it would dispirit and ruin the poor people who could not purchase them, and who by their

numbers, were intended to give strength to the province. That upon the admission of negroes, the wealthy planters would, as in other colonies, be induced to absent themselves to more pleasant places of residence, leaving the care of their plantations and negroes to overseers; that the poor planter sent on charity, from a desire to have slaves as well as those who settled at their own expense; if leave was given to alienate, and mortgage his land to the negro merchant for the eventual payment, or at least become a debtor for the purchase of negroes; and under these weights and discouragements would be induced to sell his slaves again upon any necessity, and would leave the province and his lot to his creditors; consequently all his property would be swallowed up and himself ruined. The admission of negroes in Georgia, would also facilitate the desertion of Carolina slaves, and instead of proving a frontier, would promote the evil which was intended to be checked, and give strength to the Spanish force at Augustine. In fine, it was the intention of the trustees, to people the new colony with industrious farmers, who should by their example, bring up their children in the same habits. The introduction of negroes would increase a propensity for idleness among the poor planters and their families, contrary to the fundamental principles of their charter and constitution.

When the trustees had made these dispositions and arrangements, and were enabled by benefactions from several private persons; on the 3d of October, 1732, it was resolved to send over one hundred and fourteen persons, men, women and children, being such as were in decayed circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any business in England, and who if in debt, had leave from their creditors to go, and such as were recommended by the minister, church wardens, and overseers of their respective parishes. James Edward Oglethorpe, esquire, one of the trustees, accompanied them at his own expense, for the purpose of forming the settlement. On the 24th of the same month, the people were all questioned, whether any of them had any objections to the terms and conditions pro-

posed: four of them desired that their daughters might inherit as well as their sons, and that the widow's dower might be considered. The trustees resolved, that every person who should desire it, should have the privilege of naming a successor to the lands granted to them, who in case they should die without male issue, should hold the same to them and their male heirs forever; and that the widows should have their thirds as in England; with which resolutions the people being made acquainted, were well satisfied, and executed articles under their hands and seals, testifying their consent thereto, which agreements were deposited in the office of the trustees.

The trustees prepared forms of government, agreeably to the powers given them by the charter. They established under their seal, a court of judicature for trying criminal and civil causes, by the name and stile of the town court. They also appointed magistrates, bailiffs, a recorder, constables and tithing-men.

On the 16th of November, 1732, the reverend Mr. Herbert, a clergyman of the Church of England, and a man from Piedmont, engaged by the trustees to instruct the people in the art of winding silk, and one hundred and fourteen persons, embarked on board of the ship *Anne*, captain Thomas. Several of the trustees went to Gravesend, for the purpose of ascertaining whether they were well accommodated and provided for, and left them well satisfied. At the time of their embarkation, five thousand acres of land were granted to three of the colonists, in trust for them or their survivors; to make grants from time to time to every man of twenty years of age or upwards, who might afterwards arrive in Georgia; to be divided into fifty acre lots, on the terms heretofore specified. Having everything furnished them by the corporation, which was requisite for building and cultivation, and having nothing to risque but what arose from a change of climate, they could not properly be called adventurers. Mr. Oglethorpe was clothed with power to exercise the functions of a governor over the new colony, and proved a zealous and active promoter of the settlement.

CHAPTER II.

○ N the 13th of January, 1733, the ship Anne arrived in Charleston, where Oglethorpe and his party were received with the greatest hospitality by the governor and council. Governor Johnson, sensible of the great advantages that must accrue to Carolina from this new colony, gave all the encouragement and assistance in his power to forward the settlement. Many of the Carolinians sent them provisions; also hogs and cattle to begin their stock. William Bull and Jonathan Bryan, men of knowledge and experience, accompanied Oglethorpe, and the rangers and scout boats were ordered to attend them to Georgia. The general assembly on the motion of governor Johnson, voted that Oglethorpe should be furnished at the public expense with one hundred and four head of breeding cattle, twenty-five hogs and twenty barrels of rice; and sent boats to carry these supplies to Savannah. Some scout boats were also ordered with a body of rangers, to protect the adventurers from the insults of the natives, while they were preparing houses and fortifications, to defend themselves. Oglethorpe had written to the trustees, informing them of his safe arrival in Charleston, with the loss of only two children at sea. After they had landed at Yamacraw bluff, Oglethorpe, Bryan and Bull, explored the country, and having found this high spot of ground, situated on a navigable river well suited for the purpose, they fixed on it as the most convenient and healthy situation for the settlers. On this hill he marked out a town, and from the Indian name of the river, which run past it, called it Savannah.

The following letter was written by governor Oglethorpe, to the trustees in London:

"From the camp near Savannah, the 10th February, 1733.

"GENTLEMEN,

"I GAVE you an account in my last, of our arrival in Charles-town. The governor and assembly have given us all possible encouragement. Our people arrived at Beaufort on the 20th of January, where I lodged them in some new barracks built for the soldiers, whilst I went myself to view the Savannah river; I fixed upon a healthy situation about ten miles from the sea. The river here forms an half moon, along the south side of which the banks are about forty feet high, and on the top a flat, which they call a bluff. The plain high ground extends into the country about five or six miles, and along the river side about a mile. Ships that draw twelve feet water can ride within ten yards of the bank. Upon the river side in the centre of this plain, I have laid out the town, opposite to which is an island of very rich pasturage, which I think should be kept for the trustees cattle. The river is pretty wide, the water fresh, and from the key of the town you see its whole course to the sea, with the island of Tybee, which forms the mouth of the river. For about six miles up into the country the landscape is very agreeable, the stream being wide, and bordered with high woods on both sides. The whole people arrived here on the first of February; at night their tents were got up. 'Till the 10th we were taken up in unloading and making a crane which I then could not get finished, so took off the hands and set some to the fortification and began to fell the woods. I have marked out the town and common, half of the former is already cleared, and the first house was begun yesterday in the afternoon. A little Indian nation the only one within fifty miles, is not only in amity, but desirous to be subjects to his majesty king George, to have lands given them among us, and to breed their children at our schools; their chief and his beloved man, who is the second man in the nation, desire to be instructed in the christian religion."

I am gentlemen, &c.

On the 20th of the same month, governor Oglethorpe wrote another letter to the trustees, of which the following is an extract:

“OUR people are all in perfect health; I chose the situation for the town upon an high ground forty feet perpendicular above high water mark; the soil, dry and sandy; the water of the river, fresh, and springs coming out of the side of the hill. I pitched upon this place not only for the pleasantness of the situation, but because, from the above mentioned and other signs, I thought it healthy; for it is sheltered from the western and southern winds, (the worst in this country) by vast woods of pine trees, many of which are an hundred, and few under seventy feet high. There is no moss on the trees, though in most parts of Carolina they are covered with it, and it hangs down two or three feet from them. The last and fullest conviction of the healthiness of the place, was, that an Indian nation who knew the nature of this country chose it for their situation.”

When his excellency gave this account of the moss, he had not extended his travels into the swamps of Georgia, nor had the period of his residence given him an opportunity of judging correctly of the most unhealthy winds. A small fort was erected on the bank of Savannah river, as a place of refuge, and some guns were mounted on it for the defence of the colony. The people were employed in falling trees and building huts, and Oglethorpe animated and encouraged them, by the exposure of his person to all the hardships which the poor objects of his compassion endured: he formed them into a company of militia, appointed officers, and furnished them with arms and ammunition. To show the Indians how expert they were in the use of arms, he frequently exercised them; and as they had been disciplined beforehand by the sergeants of the guards in London, they performed the manual exercise, little inferior to the regular troops. Having put his colony in the best pos-

sible situation for comfort and defence, the next object of his attention was, to treat with the natives for a share of their landed possessions.—The principal tribe that at this time occupied the territory of which he wished to gain possession, were the upper and lower Creeks; the former were numerous and strong, the latter, by disease and war, had been reduced to a small number: both tribes together were computed at about twenty-five thousand men, women and children. These Indians, according to a treaty formerly made with governor Nicolson, laid claim to the lands lying south-west of Savannah river, and to procure their friendship for this infant colony, was an object of the highest consequence. But as the tribe settled at Yamacraw was inconsiderable, Oglethorpe judged it expedient to have the other tribes also, to join with them in the treaty. To accomplish this union, he found an Indian, or rather half breed woman, named Mary, who had married a trader from Carolina, by the name of Musgrove, and who could speak both the English and Creek languages: perceiving that she had some influence amongst the Indians, and might be made useful as an interpreter in forming treaties of alliance with them, he first purchased her friendship with presents, and then allowed her a salary of one hundred pounds a year as a reward for her services. By her assistance he summoned a pretty general meeting of the chiefs, to hold a congress with him at Savannah, in order to procure their consent to the peaceable settlement of his colony. At this congress, when fifty chiefs were present, Oglethorpe represented to them the great power, wisdom and wealth of the English nation, and the many advantages that would accrue to the Indians in general, from a connection and friendship with them; and as they had plenty of lands, he hoped they would freely resign a share of them to his people, who were come to settle amongst them, for their benefit and instruction. After having distributed some presents, which was then considered as a necessary preliminary to a treaty* of peace and friendship, an agreement was entered

*See appendix No. 2.

into, and Tomochichi, in the name of the Creek nation, addressed him with the following speech:

“Here is a little present; I give you a buffaloe’s skin adorned on the inside with the head and feathers of an eagle, which I desire you to accept, because the eagle is an emblem of speed, and the buffaloe of strength: the English are swift as the bird, and strong as the beast, since like the former, they flew over vast seas to the uttermost parts of the earth; and like the latter, they are so strong that nothing can withstand them: the feathers of the eagle are soft, and signify love; the buffaloe’s skin is warm, and signifies protection; therefore, I hope the English will love and protect their little families.”

Oglethorpe accepted the present, a treaty was concluded to the satisfaction of both parties, the colonists appeared satisfied with their condition, and every thing seemed to promise prosperity to the new colony.

When Oglethorpe came over from England he was not vested with full powers, consequently the ratification of the treaty was to be made in England. Soon after his arrival he sent runners to the different towns, and invited a convention of the kings and chiefs of the Creek nation, and entered into a treaty of amity and commerce with them, making a transfer of the whole nation and all their lands, and agreeing to live under and become the subjects of his majesty’s government in common with the white colonists of Georgia. It was further stipulated that a free and complete right and title, was granted to the trustees for all the lands between Savannah and Alatamaha rivers, extending west to the extremity of the tide water, and including all the islands on the coast from Tybee to St. Simons’ inclusively, reserving to themselves the islands of Ossabaw, Sapeloe and St. Catharines, for the purposes of hunting, bathing and fishing—also the tract of land lying between Pipe-maker’s bluff and Pallychuckola creek, above Yamacraw bluff, now Savannah: which lands the Indians reserved to them-

selves for an encampment, when they came to visit their beloved friends at Savannah. Stipulations were entered into, regulating the price of goods, and the value of peltry, which was to be received in exchange; and that the number of licences should be regulated by the number of principal towns; each of which was to have one trader. All criminal cases were to be tried by the laws of England, and the offences punished accordingly: fugitives were in all cases to be delivered up, and a reward fixed for apprehending runaway slaves. This treaty was signed by Oglethorpe on the part of the king of England, and by Tomochichi and the other chiefs and head men on the part of the Creek nation; it was transmitted to the trustees and formally ratified on the 18th of October, 1733. The reservation of the islands and tract of land mentioned in this treaty, occasioned a dispute which had well nigh cost the effusion of all the human blood the colony contained, and produced the most tedious and expensive suit at law, which has ever been litigated in America. Having however determined to connect dates rather than circumstances, this subject will be particularly noticed in its proper place.

It was obligatory on the trustees to exhibit an account annually on the 9th of June, to the lord chancellor and other persons named in the charter, of their procedure; by which it appears that the number of persons sent over on the charity of the trustees the first year, amounted to one hundred and fifty-two, of whom sixty-one were males capable of bearing arms. The lands granted in trust this year to poor people, amounted to five thousand acres; and to persons coming at their own expense, four thousand four hundred and sixty. The money received from private contributions, amounted to three thousand seven hundred and twenty-three pounds thirteen shillings and seven pence; of which the trustees expended for the benefit of the colony, two thousand two hundred and fifty-four pounds seventeen shillings and nine-pence; exhibiting an account of it to the lord chancellor and to the lord chief justice

of common pleas, pursuant to their charter, and carrying the remainder into their succeeding account.

In the meantime the people were employed at Savannah in palisading the town and building houses. A public garden was laid off to the eastward of the town, which was designed as a nursery to supply the people with mulberry trees, vines, oranges, olives and other necessary plants. The gardener who had the care of it was employed and paid by the trustees. A crane was made for landing goods upon the bluff, from which there is a commanding view of the river a considerable distance below the town. On the east end of Tybee Island, at the entrance of the river, a beacon was erected ninety feet high. Fort Argyle was built at the narrow passage on the Ogeechee above the mouth of Canouchee, to protect the settlement against an inland invasion from Augustine. A kind of manchecolas or stockade fort was built at Skidaway narrows, and garrisoned by a detachment of captain Noble Jones's marines from Wormsloe: an avenue from this fort was opened to Mr. Whitefield's orphan house, which was built soon after under the direction of Mr. James Habersham.

The British parliament foreseeing the necessity of strengthening the new colony, as a security to those farther north, ordered the sale of some lands at St. Christophers, and applied ten thousand pounds to encourage the settlement; and in September and October 1733, the trustees sent over two embarkations, amounting to three hundred and forty-one persons, principally persecuted protestants from Saltzburgh in Germany.

Some very pleasing accounts of the country and settlement were sent over by some of the people to their friends in England, and the trustees were informed that some persons had made offers in Great-Britain of money and lands, in the name of the trustees, without their knowledge or authority; giving an extravagant description of the country; enticing laborers to leave profitable employments and pleasant situations, and

embark in an untried scheme, where they might be disappointed and perhaps ruined: the trustees disavowed the authority which had been assumed in making such offers, or holding out any particular inducements to increase the population of the colony, at the expense of truth; and directed these sentiments to be published in the English newspapers, which was accordingly done.

In 1733, a pamphlet appeared in London, entitled, "A new and accurate account of the provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia." The author did not think fit to favor the public with his name; but as it was circulated very generally through the kingdom, uncontradicted; asserting its origin from the best authorities, and pretending an intimate acquaintance with the measures and designs of the trustees; this high drawn picture received general credit. After an high encomium upon the trustees, the writer says:—"The air of Georgia is healthy, being always serene and pleasant, never subject to excessive heat or cold, or sudden changes of weather; the winter is regular and short, and the summer cooled by refreshing breezes: it neither feels the cutting north-west wind that the Virginians complain of, nor the intense heats of Spain, Barbary, Italy and Egypt. The soil will produce any thing with very little culture: all sorts of corn yield an amazing increase; one hundred fold is the common estimate, though the husbandry is so slight, that they can only be said to scratch the earth, and merely cover the seed. All the best sort of cattle and fowls are multiplied without number, and therefore without price. Vines are natives here; the woods near Savannah are easily cleared; many of them have no underwood, and the trees do not stand generally thick on the ground, but at considerable distances asunder. When you fall the timber to make tar, or for any other use, the roots will rot in four or five years, and in the mean time you may pasture the ground; but if you would only destroy the timber, it is done by half a dozen strokes of an axe, surrounding each tree a little above the root; in a

year or two the water getting into the wound, rots the timber, and a brisk gust of wind fells many acres for you in an hour; of which you may make one bright bon-fire. Such will be frequently here the fate of the pine, the walnut, the cyprus, the oak and the cedar. Such an air and soil can only be described by a poetical pen, because there is no danger of exceeding the truth; therefore take Wallers description of an island in the neighborhood of Carolina, to give you an idea of this happy climate."

"The spring which but salutes us here,
Inhabits there and courts them all the year;
Ripe fruits and blossoms on the same tree live;
At once they promise what at once they give.
So sweet the air so moderate the clime,
None sickly lives, or dies before his time.
Heav'n sure has kept this spot of earth uncurst,
To show how all things were created first."

"The Indians bring many a mile the whole of a deer's flesh, which they sell to the people who live in the country, for the value of *six pence* sterling; and a wild turkey of *forty pounds weight*, for the value of *two-pence*." The author when recommending the Georgia adventure to gentlemen embarrassed in their pecuniary circumstances, who must labor at home or do worse, states the following objections:—"If people cannot get bread here for their labor, how will their condition be mended in Georgia?" which he solves in the following manner—"The answer is easy; part of it is well attested, and part self evident; they have land there for nothing, and that land so fertile, that as is said before, they receive an hundred fold increase for taking a very little pains. Give ten acres of good land in England, to one of these helpless persons, and I doubt not his ability to make it support himself and family by his own labor, without letting it to another; but the difference between *no rent* and *rack'd rent*, is the difference between *eating* and *starving*."

This highly colored picture of the American terrestrial paradise, uncontaminated by the fall of man, had well nigh turned

the heads of the English peasantry, and with the additional evidence of the trustees, Great-Britain would have been nearly depopulated. The trustees however represented that the description of the country was greatly exaggerated, and thus composed once more, for a time at least, the inflamed fancies of the people.

Oglethorpe having placed his settlers in the best possible state of security, and provided for the accommodation of their wants during his absence; sailed in April 1734 for England, and invited the Indian king, with whom he had formed the treaty to accompany him: to this Tomochichi consented, and himself, his queen and some other Indians, accompanied Oglethorpe to Great-Britain.

On their arrival in London, the Indian chiefs were introduced to the king, while many of the nobility were present: Tomochichi struck with astonishment at the grandeur of the British court, addressed the king in the following words:—"This day I see the majesty of your face, the greatness of your house and the number of your people; I am come in my old days, though I cannot expect to see any advantage to myself; I am come for the good of the children of all the nations of the lower and upper Creeks, that they may be instructed in the language of the English. These are feathers of the eagle, which is the swiftest of birds, and which flyeth round our nations: these feathers are emblems of peace in our land, and have been carried from town to town. We have brought them over to leave them with you, O great king, as a token of everlasting peace: O great king, whatever words you shall say unto me, I will faithfully tell them to all the kings of the Creek nation." To which the king replied: "I am glad of this opportunity of assuring you of my regard for the people from whom you came; and I am extremely well pleased with the assurances you have brought me from them, and accept very gratefully of this present, an indication of their good dispositions to me and my people. I shall always be ready to culti-

vate a good correspondence between the Creeks and my subjects, and shall be glad on any occasion to show you marks of my particular friendship."

While these Indians were in England, nothing was neglected that might serve to engage their affections, and fill them with just notions of the greatness and power of the British nation. The nobility, curious to see them, and observe their manners, entertained them magnificently at their tables; wherever they went multitudes flocked around them, shaking hands with the rude warriors of the forest, giving them little presents, and treating them with every mark of friendship and civility: twenty pounds sterling a week were allowed them by the crown while they remained in England, and when they returned, it was computed they carried presents with them to the value of four hundred pounds sterling.—After staying four months, and admiring the splendor of the British court and their sovereign, they were carried to Gravesend in one of his majesty's carriages, where they embarked for Georgia, highly pleased with the grandeur and generosity of the nation, and promising perpetual fidelity to its interest.

It was supposed that this kind method of treating barbarians, was more politic than that of overawing them by harsh and forcible measures; that to promote the settlement of the colonies, nothing could be more effectual than the purchase of Indian friendship by mildness, a repetition of presents, and other friendly offices. This ill judged policy will be treated more largely in its proper place.

Tomochichi acknowledged that the governor of the world, or *great spirit*, had given the English great wisdom, power and riches; that they wanted nothing: he had given Indians great extent of territories; yet they wanted every thing: and he exerted his influence in prevailing on the Creeks to resign such lands to the English as were of no use to themselves, and to allow them to settle amongst them, that they might be supplied with useful articles for cultivation and necessities of life. He

told them that the English were a generous nation, and would trade with them on the most honorable and advantageous terms; that they were brethren and friends, and would protect them against danger, and go to war with them against their enemies.

Before Tomochichi left England he requested of the trustees that the weights, measures, prices, and qualities of all goods to be exchanged by them for their deer-skins and other peltry, might be settled by established rules; that none might be allowed to trade with the Indians in Georgia, without a licence from the trustees, in order that if they were in any respect defrauded by the traders, they might know where to apply for redress; and that there might be one store house in each town, to supply them with such goods as they might want to purchase, from whence the trader might be obliged to supply them at first cost. The Indians alledged as a reason for this application, that the traders had demanded exorbitant prices for their goods, and defrauded them in their weights and measures; and that to such impositions were to be ascribed the animosities and quarrels between the English and Indians, which had frequently ended in war, prejudicial to both powers.

The government of South-Carolina had passed a law on this point, the 20th of August 1731, entitled an act for the better regulation of the Indian trade, and for appointing a commissioner for that purpose with regulations. The trustees hoping that an act of this nature might be effectual in Georgia, prepared an act entitled an act for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia, with the same regulations and provisions, as were in the Carolina act; which act of Carolina ceased to be in force in Georgia, since it was erected into a distinct independent province, not subject to the laws of that province.

The trustees having received information from the colony, that the most pernicious effects had arisen from the use of spirituous liquors; that by the abuse of them great disorders had been created amongst the Indians who had been plentifully

supplied by the traders, and that by the same cause, a variety of diseases had been produced amongst the white people, as well as disorderly conduct; prepared an act entitled *an act to prevent the importation and use of rum and brandies into the province of Georgia, or any kind of spirits or strong waters whatsoever*. At the same time they endeavored to supply the stores with strong beer from England, molasses for brewing beer, and with Madeira wines, which the people might purchase at reasonable rates, and which would be more refreshing and wholesome. The magistrates of the town of Savannah were empowered to grant licences to private persons for retailing beer, ale, &c. and the trustees had great reason to believe, that the healthiness of Ebenezer to the northward, and of Frederica to the southward of Savannah, was to be attributed to the prohibition of ardent spirits. Where ardent spirits have been introduced in defiance of the law, and used to excess, the people were neither healthy nor vigorous. These acts, as well as the one prohibiting the use and introduction of slaves into the new colony, were laid before the king in council in the month of January 1735, and ratified.

Though the lands granted by the trustees were to revert to them on failure of male issue, in order to be re-granted, for keeping up a number of men capable of bearing arms; yet the trustees as guardians of the people, when any such failure happened, resolved that the value of the improvements upon the lands of the late occupiers, should be estimated and paid to or for the benefit of the female offspring or nearest kinswoman, and the first case of this kind occurring on the death of Mr. De Ferron, the value of the improvements he had made on his estate, was on the 5th of February 1735, paid in pursuance of an order to that effect, for the use of his daughter in England, who being destitute, would have been absolutely unable to proceed in the cultivation of her father's lot.

The addition to the population this year, at the trustees expense, were eighty-one; principally Saltzburghers, who joined

their countrymen at Ebenezer. Two thousand five hundred acres of land was granted this year to the poor, and one thousand nine hundred acres were granted to such persons as came over on their own account: the contributions for this year amounted to 31,416l. 7s. 7d. sterling.

The attention of Oglethorpe, was at an early period after his arrival in the colony, directed to the opening of a communication to the source of navigation on the Savannah river. He accordingly extended his settlements up that river as far as his claims by treaty would justify. The Saltzburghers, a hardy race of people who had been driven out of the electorate of Bavaria, by persecution, on account of their adherence to the tenets of the protestant religion, were settled about Ebenezer, twenty-five miles from Savannah—the lands between Ebenezer and the river of briers, (brier creek) belonged to a tribe of Indians called Uchees, who refused to dispose of them. Two forts were built on the north-east side of the river which answered the purpose. Establishments were made at Mount Pleasant, Silver bluff—Moore's fort was built at a place called by the natives *Savannah Town*, seven miles above New-Windsor, and near the falls. The trustees ordered the town of Augusta to be laid off in 1735, and garrisoned in 1736: several ware-houses were built and furnished with goods suitable for the Indian trade—boats were built by the inhabitants calculated to carry about ten thousand weight of peltry; making four or five voyages annually to Charleston. Augusta became a general resort for the Indian traders in the spring, where they purchased annually about two thousand pack-horse loads of peltry: and including towns-men, pack-horse-men and servants, it was calculated that six hundred white persons were engaged in this trade. A path was opened to Savannah which was passable on horseback: a stock of cattle was placed at Ebenezer belonging to the trustees, but were neglected for want of horses to attend to them. Amongst the emigrants of the last year (1734) were twenty families of Jews, for whom land was laid off in the neighborhood of Savannah.

The next colonists in 1735, were principally Saltzburghers, who joined the settlement of their compatriots at Ebenezer; these were honest industrious farmers, never complained of their condition or treatment, and appeared to be duly impressed with a sense of their obligations to the trustees.

The Rev. Mr. Boltzius in his letters to Germany, represents Ebenezer to be very healthy—he says that his congregation consisted of one hundred and thirty persons, by which it is supposed he meant grown people, and that only one death occurred in a whole year, and the deceased was a youth: he afterwards mentions their being afflicted by disease, occasioned by opening rice lands, and making a cross-way through Ebenezer swamp; and that the only part of the settlers who were generally unhealthy in the colony, were the idle and dissipated who lived in and about Savannah.

When Oglethorpe left Georgia, which was in April 1734, the charge of the colony was confided principally to Thomas Cauton, who was a bailiff or magistrate, and store-keeper. Other magistrates were associated with him, who were considered nominal characters, entirely under his control. The settlers preferred against him such charges as these—that he had threatened jurors, whose verdicts did not correspond with his inclination or humor; and being of low origin he became intoxicated with the powers vested in him: he was proud, haughty and cruel; that he compelled eight freeholders with an officer, to attend at the door of the court-house while it was in session, with their guns and bayonets; who had orders to rest their firelocks as soon as he appeared: that juries from terror of him could not act according to their consciences: that his head was turned by power and pride; and that he threatened without distinction, rich and poor, strangers and inhabitants, who dared to oppose his arbitrary proceedings, or claimed their just rights and privileges, with the jail, stocks and whipping post: that he thus rendered his name a terror to the people—he was charged with mis-applying the public money and other prop-

erty, giving more than their due to his favorites, and withholding the just claims of those who dared to oppose the injustice of his proceedings. The inhabitants of Carolina, had in public and private donations, contributed upwards of 1300l. sterling, to aid and encourage the settlement of Georgia; and seeing the funds dissipated uselessly by Causton, and out of regard to the welfare of their fellow-creatures, persuaded many of them to abandon their settlements in Georgia, and pass over into their province.

In December 1734, Mr. Gordon as chief magistrate, was sent over by the trustees to Savannah: he is represented to have been a man of some talents, and soon became a favorite with the people—they laid their grievances before him, and he made an effort to restore harmony and good order; but old Causton's cunning soon pointed out an expedient to remove his adversary—Gordon was refused either money or provisions from the public store, which in a short time rendered him incapable of supporting himself and family; and he was obliged after a stay of six weeks to return to England—he promised to represent the grievances of the people to the trustees: whether he resigned, or was removed from the office of first bailiff, is not known—Causton however was appointed in his stead. There was amongst the bailiffs, one Henry Parker, a man of mild temper and moderate capacity, of a large family and was dependent on the public store for subsistence—therefore whenever Causton designed to gain a favorite point, he threatened him with the exercise of his power, in withholding subsistence from himself and family: Mr. Christie, the recorder was easily over-ruled by the other two. After Gordon's dismissal or resignation, Mr. Durn was appointed; he was said to be seventy years of age, and crazed both in body and mind; he died soon after he was appointed: his successor Robert Gilbert, could neither read nor write, so that after Gordon's departure, Causton met no formidable opposition to his arbitrary proceedings. Captain Joseph Watson, is mentioned amongst

the victims of Causton's tyrannical administration: he had brought a charge against this militia officer, for stirring up animosities in the minds of the Indians: he was indicted and brought to trial, in which Causton is represented in the three-fold capacities of witness, advocate and judge. The jury returned twice without finding the prisoner guilty of any crime, but that of having used some *unguarded expressions*: Causton desired the jury to return, find him guilty, and recommend him to the mercy of the court, imagining or supposing he might be lunatic: the jury then found him guilty of *lunacy*: the judge ordered him to prison, where he remained near three years (though he had offered good security) without pronouncing any sentence. Many other instances of the cruelty of this judge are mentioned amongst the grievances of the colonists—among other matters are, that the British nation was deceived with the fame of a happy flourishing colony, and of its being free from that pest and scourge of mankind called *lawyers*; for want of whose legal assistance, the poor miserable inhabitants were exposed to a more arbitrary government, than was ever exercised in Turkey or Muscovy. Looks were criminal, and the grand sin of opposing justice to authority, was punished without mercy: that a lighthouse was commenced of wood and the frame was rotten before it was erected; that the lofty fabric had never been covered and was going to ruins: that prisons and log-houses of various sorts were alternately built and razed, and that most part of them were better calculated for dungeons in the Spanish inquisition, than British gaols. Irons, whipping-posts, gibbets, &c. were provided to keep the inhabitants in perpetual terror; innocence afforded no protection; and for some time there were more imprisonments, whipping, &c. of the white people, in this *colony of liberty*, than in all British America besides. Corn-mills, saw-mills, public roads, trustees plantations, (as they were called) wells, forts, &c. were commenced for the purpose of amusing the world, and maintaining a few creatures who

assisted in keeping the poor colonists in subjection. Such were the complaints against the trustees and civil authority, while Oglethorpe was absent. If the code of English law was found unequal to the government of a majority of these people, it was not to be supposed that their vices could be controlled by a mild system, under the administration of a few ignorant magistrates.

During the absence of Oglethorpe from the colony, exertions had been made to cultivate the vine and mulberry, to make wine and silk: those best acquainted with the cultivation of them had been employed, with the assistance of common laborers, on a spot of ground which was enclosed at the east end of Savannah, called the *trustees garden*; and perhaps a more improper place could not have been fixed on. After being dug up and exposed to a few rains, they found themselves cultivating a poor bed of sand, which in the heat of summer would have roasted an egg. The trees did not flourish and the vines were parched with heat. Having laid off the fifty acre lots for each farmer indiscriminately, several of them in point of quality, corresponded with the garden: the people grew dissatisfied and became clamorous against the trustees, while the colony was yet in the bud. Drunkenness and irregularities began to prevail in a formidable degree. The law prohibiting strong drink could not be enforced; the people deemed the use of ardent spirits necessary for the preservation of health.

The principal part of the people who had been sent over at the trustees expense, were picked up in the streets of London, and outcasts from other parts of the kingdom, and would probably have been dissatisfied with the best possible arrangements which could have been made for them; and that industrious farmers were to be formed out of such materials, immediately after their arrival in Georgia, was one of these extraordinary events, which on common calculation, could not have been expected.

Admitting the humane intentions of the trustees, and allow-

ing them all the credit which is due for their laudable intentions; perhaps the imagination of man could scarcely have framed a system of rules worse adapted to the circumstances and situation of the poor settlers, and of more pernicious consequence to the prosperity of the province.

The colony was designed to be a barrier to South-Carolina, against the Spanish settlement at Augustine; they imagined that negroes would rather weaken than strengthen it; and that the poor colonists would run in debt and ruin themselves by the purchase of slaves. The use of rum was judged pernicious to health, and ruinous to an infant settlement: a free trade with the Indians, was considered as a thing that would produce quarrels with a powerful nation of savages: such were probably the motives of the trustees in imposing such ill judged and ridiculous restrictions on the colony of Georgia, from which the adjoining colony of South-Carolina, separated only by a narrow river, was entirely free. There the people could buy as many negroes as they pleased; possess by a fee simple title several hundred acres of land, and choose it from the best that was vacant; purchase as much rum as they might desire, deal with the Indians without restriction, and in short they enjoyed all those privileges which were denied to Georgia. The trustees like other distant legislators, who framed their regulations upon speculative principles, were liable to many errors and mistakes; and however good their design, their rules were found unwise, and indeed impracticable.

The Carolinians plainly perceived that these regulations must prove insuperable obstacles to the progress and prosperity of the colony, and therefore from motives of pity, invited the Georgians to cross the Savannah river and settle amongst them, convinced that they could never succeed under such impolitic and oppressive restrictions. Remonstrances were made to the trustees that their garden would neither produce mulberries or grapes, from its extreme poverty, and they seeming sensible of their error, gave orders to choose another spot of ground of

better quality. Abraham De Leon, a Jew, who had been many years a vigneron in Portugal, and was a freeholder in Savannah, cultivated several kinds of grapes in his garden, and amongst others, reared the Oporto and Malaga to great perfection: of this he sent home an attested account to the trustees, proposing that if they would lend him, upon such security as he offered, two hundred pounds sterling for three years without interest, he would employ that, and a further sum of his own, in bringing across the Atlantic from Portugal, vines and vignerons; that he would bind himself to return the money within the time mentioned, and have growing within the colony, forty thousand such vines, which he would furnish to the freeholders at moderate rates—the trustees were satisfied with the security, and accepted the proposal, but the advances were neglected and the design relinquished.

While Oglethorpe was in England in 1735, rules were drawn up by the trustees, for further encouraging the settlement of Georgia; and that the persons who were transported at the expense of the trustees, might not be misled, copies of these rules were printed and circulated. The trustees intended to lay out another county and build a new town in Georgia. That they would give to such persons as they sent upon their charity; to every grown male, a watch-coat, musket, and bayonet, hatchet, hammer, hand-saw, shod-shovel or spade, broad-hoe, narrow-hoe, gimblet, and drawing knife; and a public grind-stone to each ward or village; and to each man an iron pot, pot-hooks and frying pan: and for his maintenance for one year, three hundred pounds of beef or pork, one hundred and fourteen pounds of rice, one hundred and fourteen pounds of pease, one hundred and fourteen pounds of flour, forty-four gallons of strong beer, sixty-four quarts of molasses for brewing beer, eighteen pounds of cheese, nine pounds of butter, nine ounces of spice, nine pounds of sugar, five gallons of vinegar, thirty pounds of salt, twelve quarts of lamp oil, and twelve pounds of soap—and to the mothers, wives, children and other females,

of twelve years of age and upwards, the same allowances of provisions, &c. with the exception of beer: half allowance for children of seven and under twelve years, and from two to seven years of age, one-third: passage paid, sea stores allowed, &c. And the said persons to enter into the following covenants before embarkation—That they would repair on board such ship as should be provided for carrying them to the province of Georgia; and during the voyage, demean themselves quietly, soberly and obediently, and go to such place in the said province of Georgia, and there obey all such orders as should be given them for the better settling, establishing and governing the said colony: and that for the first twelve months from their landing in the said province, would work and labor in clearing their lands, making habitations, and necessary defences, and on all other works for the common good and public weal of the said province, at such times, in such manner, and according to such plans and directions, as should be given them. And that they, from and after the expiration of the said twelve months, would, during the next succeeding two years, abide, settle and inhabit in the said province of Georgia; and cultivate the lands which should be to them and their male heirs severally allotted and given, by all such ways and means as according to their several abilities and skill, they should be best able and capable: all such persons were to be settled in the same colony, either in new towns or new villages: those in the towns should have each of them a lot, sixty feet in front and ninety feet in depth, whereon they were to build a house, and have as much land in the country, as in the whole, would make up fifty acres—those in the villages, would each of them have a lot of fifty acres, upon which they were to build their houses; the tenure, fencing, cultivation, &c. of the lands as heretofore mentioned, with a rent charge of two shillings and six-pence sterling on every fifty acre lot, for the support of the colony; but the payment was not to commence until ten years after the grant. None were to have the benefit of the

charity fund for their transportation, subsistence, &c. except those of the following description:—1st. Such as were in decayed circumstances, and thereby disabled from following any profitable business in England, and who if in debt, must obtain the consent of their creditors. 2d. Such as have numerous families of children, if assisted by their respective parishes, and recommended by the minister, church-wardens and overseers thereof. The trustees expected to have a good character of the emigrants, because no drunkards or vicious persons would be taken.—The better to enable the said persons to build the new town, and clear their lands, the trustees allowed every freeholder to take over with him, one male servant or apprentice of the age of eighteen years and upwards, to be bound for no less than four years; and by way of loan to such freeholder, advanced the charges of passage for such servant or apprentice, and furnished him with the clothing and provision hereafter mentioned, to be delivered in such portions, and at such times, as the trustees should think proper to direct:—A pallet, bolster, blanket, a frock and trowsers of linsey-woolsey, a shirt, frock and trowsers of oznaburghs, a pair of shoes from England, and two pair of country shoes; two hundred pounds of meat, three hundred and forty-two pounds of rice, pease, or Indian corn—the expenses of which passage, clothing and provisions, were to be reimbursed to the trustees by the master, within the third year from their embarkation from England. And to each man servant and the male heirs of his body forever, and after the expiration of his service, upon a certificate from his master, of his faithful services, were to be granted twenty acres of land, under such rents and agreements, as shall have been then last granted to any other man servant in like circumstances.

These rules and regulations were entered into the 2d of July, 1735: other conditions were added; to such persons as would carry over ten men servants and settle with them in Georgia, at their own expense, and whose characters the trustees, upon

enquiry, should approve of, would be granted five hundred acres of land in tail male, and to descend to the male heirs of their bodies forever, under the yearly rents of twenty shillings sterling for every hundred acres, for the support of the colony; the payment not to commence until ten years after the grant; and the land is so granted upon the following conditions and covenants: that such persons should pay the rent reserved as the same became due, and no part to be unpaid six months after due; that they, within a month of the grant should register the same, or a memorial thereof, with the auditor of the plantations; that they, within twelve months from the grant, should go to and arrive in Georgia, with ten able bodied men servants, being each of the age of twenty years and upwards: that they should abide in Georgia with such men servants three years from the time of registering the grant, building their houses and cultivating their lands: that they should clear and cultivate within ten years from the date of their grants, two hundred acres, part of the said five hundred, and plant two thousand white mulberry trees, or plants thereupon; and on every hundred of the other three hundred acres, one thousand white mulberry trees, or plants, when cleared, and preserve the same quantity from time to time thereupon; the trustees, obliging themselves to furnish the plants; that they should not alienate the said five hundred acres of land, or any part thereof for any term of years, or any estate or interest in the same, to any person or persons without special leave; that they should not make pot-ash in partnership without leave, but might make it themselves, not in partnership. On the termination of male descendants, who alone could inherit the land thus granted, the land to revert to the trust, and that they should not depart the said province without licence. Each servant serving four years, should be entitled to twenty acres of land, on the conditions before mentioned.

In the year 1735, the British parliament granted large sums of money, for settling and securing the colony of Georgia. The

trustees thought it prudent to strengthen the southern part of the province by making a settlement on the Alatomaha river, to which they were the more strongly inclined by a memorial sent to the king from the governor and council of South-Carolina, dated 9th April 1734, wherein; after thanking his majesty for his peculiar favor and protection, and especially for his most benign care, so wisely calculated for the preservation of South Carolina, by his royal charter to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia; and after representing the practices of the French and Spaniards, to seduce the Indians who were in amity with South-Carolina; the attention of the French to improve their settlements, and their late increase in number, near Carolina; the defenceless condition of the province, and the danger of the inhabitants from their slaves, and the ruinous situation of the West India trade, in case the French should possess themselves of Carolina; they add that the harbours and ports of Carolina and Georgia, enable his majesty to be absolute master of the passage through the gulf of Florida, and to impede at his pleasure, the transportation home, of the Spanish treasure, which, should his majesty's enemies possess, would then prove so many convenient harbours for them, to annoy a great part of the British trade to America, as well as that which was carried on through the gulf to Jamaica.

The British government having appropriated large sums of money to the settlement of Georgia, and deeming its rapid increase in population of the utmost importance to the other colonies, became more vigorous in their efforts. The first embarkations of poor people, collected from towns and cities, had been found equally idle, and useless members of society abroad, as they had been at home, and their conduct tended rather to destroy than to promote the trustees intentions. A hardy bold race of men, accustomed to rural economy, and laborious pursuits, they were persuaded would be much better adapted, both for cultivation and defence. To find men pos-

sessed of these qualifications, the trustees turned their eyes to Germany and the high lands of Scotland, and resolved to send over a number of Scotts and Germans to their infant province. When they published their terms at Inverness, one hundred and thirty highlanders accepted the proposals, and were transported to Georgia—a township on the Alatomaha, was allotted for the residence of the former; on which dangerous situation they settled and built a town, which they called New Inverness, (now Darien)—about the same time one hundred and seventy Germans embarked with Oglethorpe, who settled at Ebenezer: so that Georgia had received from the old world, in the space of three years, about six hundred inhabitants, near two hundred of whom were Germans. Afterwards several adventurers from Scotland and Germany, followed their countrymen, and the trustees flattered themselves with the hope of soon seeing their colony in a flourishing condition.

When Oglethorpe arrived in Georgia, the 5th of February 1736, he brought over a number of guns for the batteries and forts, erected and to be erected at Savannah, Augusta, Frederica, and other places. The fort at Augusta was intended for the protection of the Indian trade, and was considered a proper place for holding treaties with the several Indian tribes. Frederica on St. Simon's island at the mouth of the Alatomaha, was a regular work of Tappy (a composition of oyster-shells and lime) with four bastions, mounted with several pieces of cannon—on the south end of the island ten miles from the fort, a battery called fort St. Simons, was raised, commanding the entrance of Jekyl sound: ten thousand pounds were granted by the British government towards building and garrisoning these works.

The celebrated John Wesley accompanied Oglethorpe to Georgia, with an intention of making religious impressions on the minds of the Indians as well as the colonists. Himself and followers before he left England, were distinguished by a more than common strictness of religious life—they received

the sacrament of the Lord's supper every week; observed all the fasts of the church; visited the prisons; rose at 4 o'clock in the morning and refrained from all amusements. From the exact method in which they disposed of every hour, they acquired the appellation of Methodists, by which their followers have since been denominated. Wesley had drawn over a considerable number of proselytes and created many unpleasant divisions amongst the people in Georgia; he was charged with requiring too much of their time from necessary labor, to attend his prayers, meetings and sermons, at improper hours, tending to propagate a spirit of indolence and hypocrisy amongst the abandoned, by adhering to his novelties. That he had an undue influence over the public funds, which was exercised exclusively in favor of his own sect, and that he excommunicated all such as differed with him in his creed and shut them out from religious ordinances, contrary to the spirit and tenderness authorised by the christian religion. He was also charged with an attempt to establish confessions, penance, mortifications, &c. and appointed deaconesses, with sundry other innovations, which he called *apostolick constitutions*: that his schemes seemed judiciously calculated to debase and depress the minds of the people, to break down the spirit of liberty, and humble them with fastings, penances, drinking water, and a thorough subjection to the spiritual jurisdiction, which he asserted was to be established in his own person; and when this should be accomplished, the minds of the people would be equally prepared for the reception of civil or religious tyranny—that jesuitical arts were used to bring his schemes to perfection; party divisions were made in private families; spies engaged in their houses; servants bribed to communicate family secrets to him, and that those who had given themselves up to his spiritual guidance, especially females, were required to discover to him their secret actions, and the subjects of their dreams. He had preserved a great intimacy with Causton the chief bailiff, and had said some tender things to his niece—

she rejected his proposals, having been engaged to a gentleman, whom she married soon after: this produced chagrin and gave umbrage to Wesley, who under some frivolous pretexts repelled her from the holy communion—her husband thought himself well founded in an action of damages; and Causton, who was nettled at the affront offered to his niece, encouraged him in prosecuting the suit: accordingly thirteen indictments were found against Wesley, one of which was at the instance of this lady—the others were founded on the improper exercise of his ecclesiastical functions: these indictments, found by forty-four freeholders, were forwarded by the bailiffs to the trustees, accompanied by an abstract of other matters, by which they considered themselves oppressed. It will be but just to extract a few observations from Wesley's own journal, as the record has been preserved by his biographers Doct. Coke and Mr. Moore, and then leave the reader to draw his own conclusions.—“Mr. Causton, the store-keeper and chief magistrate of Savannah, had a young lady in his house, his niece, of an improved understanding, and elegant person and manners. The general (meaning Oglethorpe) thought he found in her a proper bait for this soaring religionist. This young lady was introduced to him as a person who had severely felt the anguish of a wounded spirit, and now was a sincere enquirer after the way of eternal life. After some time he observed that she took every possible opportunity of being in his company. She also desired a greater intimacy; but modestly veiled her real motives, under a request that he would assist her in attaining a perfect knowledge of the French tongue.

“Mr. Delamotte (a friend of Mr. Wesley's) had not learned to defy suspicion. He thought he saw in her, *semblance* of worth, not *substance*. He therefore embraced an opportunity of expostulating with Mr. Wesley, and asked him if he designed to marry Miss Sophia? at the same time set forth in a strong light, *her* art and *his* simplicity. Though pleased with the attention of his fair friend, Mr. Wesley had not allowed

himself to determine upon marriage. Mr. Delamotte's question not a little puzzled him. He waived an answer at that time; and perceiving the prejudice of Mr. Delamotte's mind against the young lady, he called on bishop Nitscham, and consulted him: his answer was short; marriage said he, you know, is not unlawful. Whether it is now expedient for you, and whether this lady is a proper match for you, ought to be maturely weighed. Finding his perplexity increase, he determined to propose his doubts to the elders of the Moravian church. When he entered the house where they met together, he found Mr. Delamotte sitting amongst them. On his proposing the business, the bishop replied—we have considered your case—will you abide by our decision? he answered, I will—then said the bishop, we advise you to proceed no further in this business. He replied, the will of the Lord be done. From this time he cautiously avoided every thing that tended to continue the intimacy. Soon after this a young gentlewoman, who had been some time before married to the surgeon of the colony, and had sailed with the general from Europe, sent for him, and related to him *under a promise of secrecy*, what we shall now declare concerning the hitherto mysterious part of this circumstance, adding these words: I had no rest till I resolved to tell you the whole affair: I have myself been urged to that behaviour towards you which I am now ashamed to mention—both Miss Sophia and myself were ordered, if we could not succeed, even to *deny you nothing*." Some would be ill-natured enough to doubt the *truth* of this assertion: to say the *best* of it, Mr. Wesley violated the laws of fidelity and confidence, in recording it in his journal.

Mr. Wesley proceeds and admits that *ten* bills of indictment were found against him, and that he was required to give security to appear at court for trial, which he refused.—“In the afternoon the magistrates published an order, requiring all the officers and centinels to prevent his going out of the province; and forbidding any person to assist him so to do. Being

now a prisoner at large, in the place where he knew by experience, every day would give fresh opportunity to procure evidences of words he never said, and actions he never did; he saw clearly the hour was come for leaving that place; and as soon as evening prayers were over, about eight o'clock, the tide then serving, he shook the dust off his feet and left Georgia."

I have discussed this subject at more length than I intended, because Mr. Wesley has been spoken of by some of his followers as the *superior of St. Paul*, in point of religious zeal; and his efforts for the conversion of the aboriginies of America, have been produced as evidences of the assertion. In Mr. Wesley's journal, he dates his conversion after he was forty years of age, and seven years after he left Georgia; therefore he could not have been fully qualified to heal the *wounded spirit* of Miss Sophia.

Having portrayed the morning of Mr. Wesley's character, it is but just to give the evening. After the period of life at which he dates his conversion, he appears to have been a warm and zealous advocate for the christian religion, in which it is believed he was eminently favored amongst the saints of God, and as distinguished for his holy walk, as for his great abilities, indefatigable labor and singular usefulness—the foibles of his early life were used by his enemies to stain his character, and if possible to rob him of the laurels which he acquired in advanced age: he seems to have imagined that the glorious head of the church was pleased to furnish special interposition in his behalf, which he was sometimes ready to construe as miraculous. He is gone to give an account of himself to his proper judge, by whom I doubt not, all his iniquities are pardoned.

The return of Oglethorpe in February 1736, contributed greatly to the settlement and preservation of the colony, which had already become considerable enough, not only to draw the attention, but to excite the jealousy of the Spaniards; who, without all question, would have been glad to have overpowered and driven out of it their unwelcome neighbors, if it had been

in their power. The Spanish governor was apprehensive of the consequences which must have attended an open war between the two nations, on account of the disputes between their frontier provinces; which circumstances were so well improved by Oglethorpe, and the Indians who had entered into friendship with the new settlement, and were so strongly attached to the English interest, that the governor of St. Augustine, upon mature deliberation, found it more expedient to enter into a negociation with the English colony; which Oglethorpe also knowing to be advisable for the security of Georgia, negotiated and concluded a treaty, upon very just and reasonable, as well as safe and advantageous terms; as will appear by the following copy of the treaty itself, and the powers given by him for concluding and signing it.

“To Charles Demsey, Esquire.

“I have empowered you by procuration, dated the 23d of June 1736, to treat and conclude, concerning certain matters of importance, relating to these provinces, with his excellency Don Francisco del Moral Sanches, captain-general of Florida, and governor of St. Augustine, and the council of war of the said garrison; and having since the dates of these letters, received advice from the governor of St. Augustine, as also a message from his excellency Don Juan Francisco Geumes de Horcasitas, major-general in his catholic majesty’s service, captain-general of the island of Cuba, and governor of Havanah, by Don Antonio de Arredondo, they both empowering him to treat concerning the said matters; I do hereby empower, constitute and appoint you, to treat, conclude and sign the following articles; and to deliver the same unto the governor and council of St. Augustine, they signing, sealing and interchanging the said articles:

“First. That his excellency the governor of St. Augustine, shall restrain his Indians, subjects to the king of Spain, from committing any hostilities upon the subjects of the king of

Great-Britain. I will restrain the Indian subjects of the king of Great-Britain in this province, from any hostilities upon the subjects of his catholic majesty.

“Secondly. That in respect to the nations of free Indians called Creeks, I will use my utmost amicable endeavors upon any reasonable satisfaction given them, to prevail with them to abstain from any hostilities whatsoever, with the subjects of his catholic majesty.

“Thirdly. That with respect to the fort built on the island of St. George, I will draw off that garrison, together with the artillery, and all other things by me posted there; provided that none of his catholic majesty’s subjects, nor any other person, shall inhabit, people or fortify the said island; provided also, that no prejudice shall arise to the right of the king my master, to the said island, nor to any other dominions or claim that his Britannic majesty hath upon the continent: but that his right shall remain to the said island, and to all other places whatsoever, as if the said garrison had never been withdrawn: and the said garrison shall withdraw within fourteen days after the ratification of these articles.

“Fourthly. I will agree with his excellency the governor of St. Augustine, and the council of war, that his Britannic majesty’s subjects under my command, shall not molest in any manner whatsoever, any of his catholic majesty’s subjects, provided that his catholic majesty’s subjects do not molest any of his Britannic majesty’s subjects, nor his allies.

Fifthly. That concerning any differences that have or shall arise, concerning the limits of the respective governments and dominions of the two crowns, such differences shall remain undecided, until the determination of the respective courts; and that the subjects of each crown here, shall remain in profound peace, and not in any manner molest each other, until the determination of the respective courts on this subject.

“Lastly. That no person shall be received from any garrison in either government, without a passport from the governor to whom such person belongs.

“Given under my hand and seal at Frederica, in Georgia the 27th day of September, 1736.

“By the power to me given by his excellency James Oglethorpe, esq. governor and director-general of the new colony of Georgia, by his excellency’s procuration, bearing date the 27th of October, (September?) in the tenth year of the reign of our sovereign lord George the second, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, &c. &c. and in the year of our Lord 1736; I do hereby confirm and ratify the above articles with his excellency Don Francisco del Moral Sanches (Villegas?), captain-general and governor of St. Augustine of Florida, and with the council of war of the said garrison of St. Augustine; as witness my hand and seal this 26th day of October, 1736.”

The counterpart of this treaty, executed by the governor of St. Augustine, by the advice and with the consent of a council of war, was certified by Bartholomew Niotts, notary-public, in due form. But it appeared that the governor of St. Augustine was not in the secret of his master’s court, for the Spanish ministry at home were very far from being desirous that a fair correspondence should be established between the two colonies. On the contrary their object was to compel the British government to relinquish the design of settling the colony of Georgia; and with this view sir Thomas Geraldino, on the first of September, presented a memorial to his grace the duke of Newcastle, in which, among other things, he was pleased to say it was indisputable that the colony of Georgia was settled upon his masters dominions; so that a plainer proof could not be had, that the Spaniards were determined if possible, to compel the crown of Great-Britain to surrender this settlement.

In the course of this year, Oglethorpe had been employed in strengthening the colony against an anticipated attack from the Spaniards, through Florida, notwithstanding the treaty which had just been concluded; and while thus engaged, received a message from the governor of Augustine, informing him that a

Spanish commissioner from the Havanna, had arrived there, in order to make certain demands of him, and would meet him at Frederica for that purpose. At the same time he had advice, that three companies of infantry, had accompanied the commissioner to the Spanish settlement. A few days afterwards the commissioner came to Georgia by sea, and Oglethorpe unwilling to permit his visit at Frederica, despatched a sloop to bring him into Jekyl sound, where he intended to hold a conference. Here the commissioner demanded that Oglethorpe and his people, should without loss of time, evacuate all the territories to the southward of St. Helena sound, as they belonged to the king of Spain, who was determined to maintain his right to them; and should Oglethorpe refuse to comply with this demand, he declared he had orders to proceed to Charleston, and lay his instructions before the governor of that province. Oglethorpe endeavored to convince the commissioner that his catholic majesty had been misinformed respecting those territories, but to no purpose: the demand was positive and peremptory, and the conference broke off without coming to any agreement.—Oglethorpe, apprehensive of the danger which threatened his colony, embarked immediately and sailed for England, for the purpose of obtaining a formidable force to meet the enemy in case his colony should be invaded. When he arrived in England the trustees were convened, and these circumstances communicated to them. As war had not yet been formally proclaimed between the two nations, further proceedings were suspended until late in the summer of 1737, when appearances became more alarming, and the following petition was presented to the king:—

“The humble memorial of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America,

“Humbly sheweth,

“That they being intrusted by your majesty with the care of the colony of Georgia, which was formerly part of your

majesty's province of South-Carolina, and your majesty's colony of Georgia being very much exposed to the power of the Spaniards, and being an object of their envy, by having valuable ports upon the homeward passage from the Spanish West-Indies, and the Spaniards having increased their force in the neighborhood thereof; the trustees, in consequence of the great trust reposed in them by your majesty, find themselves obliged, humbly to lay before your majesty, their inability, sufficiently to protect your majesty's subjects settled in Georgia, under the encouragement of your majesty's charter, against this late increase of forces, and therefore become humble suppliants to your majesty, on the behalf of your majesty's subjects settled in the province of Georgia, that your majesty would be pleased to take their preservation into your royal consideration, that by a necessary supply of forces, the province may be protected against the great dangers that seem immediately to threaten it. All which is most humbly submitted to your majesty's great wisdom.

"Signed by order of the trustees, this 10th day of August, 1737.

BENJAMIN MARTYN, Secretary."

On the 25th of the same month, Oglethorpe obtained the appointment of colonel, with the rank of general and commander in chief of the forces in South-Carolina and Georgia; and was directed to raise a regiment with all possible expedition for the protection of the frontiers of the colonies. As an encouragement for the good behaviour of the soldiers, the trustees resolved to give them an interest in the prosperity and welfare of the colony; and accordingly made a grant of land in trust, for an allotment of five acres to each soldier of the regiment, to be cultivated by him for his own use and benefit, and to hold the same during his continuance in the service; and for a further encouragement they resolved, that each soldier, who at the end of seven years from the date of his enlistment, should be desirous of quitting the service, and should produce his regular discharge, and would settle in the colony, should on having

his commanding officers certificate of good behaviour, be entitled to a grant of twenty acres of land. The regiment was filled up, embarked and arrived in Georgia, in Sept. 1738. The inhabitants of the colony at the close of this year, amounted to one thousand one hundred and ten persons, exclusive of those who had settled at Augusta, Tybee, Skidaway, Argyle, Thunderbolt, Cumberland and Amelia, who had brought servants and come to Georgia, at their own expense. The emigrants of this year were principally of German protestants, who settled at Ebenezer.

During Oglethorpe's absence from Georgia, the discontents of the people had ripened into a settled aversion to their condition: the strict laws of the trustees, respecting the rum trade, had created a serious quarrel at Savannah: the fortification at Augusta, had induced the traders from Charleston to open stores there, as most convenient and profitable for commercial intercourse with the Indians. For this purpose, the land carriage being expensive, they intended to force their way with loaded boats up Savannah river, for the supply of goods to their stores. As the boats passed the town of Savannah, a trader, induced by advantageous offers for a prohibited article, smuggled rum on shore to the soldiers.—Causton who was the chief of the bailiffs, nettled with such an infringement of the law, under his executive guidance, rashly ordered the boats to be examined, the packages to be opened, the casks of rum staved, and the offender to be confined. This harsh treatment was resented by the governor of Carolina, who deputed one member from the council, and one from the legislature, with instructions to proceed to Savannah, and enquire into the case, and demand by what authority, the person and goods of Carolinians were seized and destroyed, in waters where an equal right of navigation was claimed, under a law of the colony of Georgia. Time had cooled the temper of Causton and his associates, and becoming sensible of their error, the trader was released, his goods restored, compensation allowed for the damages sustained, out

of the trustees funds, and satisfactory concessions made: the dispute was settled and the deputies treated with the utmost civility. An agreement was entered into, that the Carolina traders should not thereafter be interrupted, but that they should be assisted and protected in their lawful pursuits; and on the other hand it was engaged, that no spirituous liquors should be smuggled amongst the settlers, and that the navigation of Savannah river should be open and free to both provinces.

In the meantime the most extravagant accounts of this paradise of the world, were circulated in England: numerous hackney muses might be instanced, but I shall confine myself to the celebrated performance of the reverend Mr. Wesley, where a sufficient stock of truth and religion, might be expected to counterbalance a poetical license: this was said to have been written about the time he was courting the smiles of justice Causton's niece: the poem is entitled "*Georgia*," and some verses upon Mr. Oglethorpe's second voyage:—

"See where beyond the spacious ocean lies
A wide waste land beneath the southern skies,
Where kindly suns for ages roll'd in vain,
Nor e'er the vintage saw, or rip'ning grain;
Where all things into wild luxuriance ran,
And burthen'd nature ask'd the aid of man.
In this sweet climate and prolific soil,
He bids the eager swain indulge his toil;
In free possession to the planter's hand,
Consigns the rich uncultivated land.
Go you, the monarch cries, go settle there,
Whom Britain from her plenitude can spare;
Go, your old wonted industry pursue;
Nor envy Spain the treasures of *Peru*."

"But not content in council here to join,
A further labor, *Oglethorpe*, is thine:
In each great deed, thou claim'st the foremost part,
And toil and danger charm thy gen'rous heart:
But chief for this thy warm affections rise;
For oh! thou view'st it with a parent's eyes:
For this thou tempt'st the vast tremendous main,
And floods and storms oppose their threats in vain."

“He comes, whose life, while absent from your view,
Was one continued ministry for you;
For you were laid out all his pains and art,
Won ev’ry will and soften’d ev’ry heart.
With what paternal joy shall he relate,
How views its mother isle, your little state:
Think while he strove your distant coast to gain,
How oft he sigh’d and chid the tedious main!
Impatient to survey, by culture grac’d,
Your dreary woodland and your rugged waste.
Fair were the scenes he feign’d, the prospect fair;
And sure, ye Georgians, all he feign’d was there.
A thousand pleasures crowd into his breast;
But one, one mighty thought absorbs the rest,
And gives me heav’n to see, the patriot cries,
Another Britain in the desert rise.

With nobler products see thy Georgia teems,
Chear’d with the genial sun’s directer beams;
There the wild vine to culture learns to yield,
And purple clusters ripen through the field.
Now bid thy merchants bring their wine no more
Or from the *Iberian* or the *Tuscan* shore:
No more they need th’ Hungarian vineyards drain,
And France herself may drink her best Champaign
Behold! at last, and in a subject land,
Nectar sufficient for thy large demand:
Delicious nectar, powerful to improve
Our hospitable mirth and social love:
This for thy jovial sons—nor less the care
Of thy young province, to oblige the fair;
Here tend the silk-worm in the verdant shade,
The frugal matron and the blooming maid.”

The bad effects which would arise from such a picture so overcharged, are evident. Idlers who saw this description from the pen of a clergyman, and calculated on its truth, removed to Georgia, under the belief that the labor of one or two days in the week, would enable them to dress in silk and riot in wine, the remainder of their days: With such expectations many came to Georgia, where to their astonishment they found nothing but complaints, discontents, poverty, disease and wretchedness.

The inhabitants discovered that their constitutions would not bear the cultivation of the swamp lands, and that the pine lands were unproductive: instead of reaping the rich harvest of plenty, raising commodities for exportation, and wallowing in wealth and affluence, as they had been taught to expect; the labor of several years had not enabled them to provide a coarse common subsistence for themselves and families. Under these discouragements, numbers withdrew to the Carolina side of the river, where the prospects of success were more promising, and the magistrates observed the infant colony sinking into ruin.—Dispirited by a foresight of the depopulation of the colony, they joined the freeholders in and about Savannah, in drawing up a petition, representing their condition, and transmitted it to the trustees—on this subject their own language will give the best impressions:—

“To the honorable the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia.

“May it please your honors,

“We, whose names are under-written, being all settlers, freeholders and inhabitants of the province of Georgia, and being sensible of the great pains and care exerted by you, in endeavoring to settle this colony, since it has been under your protection and management, do unanimously join to lay before you, with the utmost regret, the following particulars. But, in the first place, we must beg leave to observe, that it has afforded us a great deal of concern and uneasiness, that former representations made to you of the same nature, have not been thought worthy of a due consideration, nor even of an answer. We have most of us settled in this colony, in pursuance of a description and representation of it by you, in Britain; and from the experience of residing here several years, do find, that it is impossible the measures hitherto laid down for making it a colony, can succeed. None of all those who have planted their lands, have been able to raise sufficient produce to maintain their families, in bread kind only, even though as much ap-

plication and industry have been exerted to bring it about, as could be done by men engaged in an affair, in which they believe the welfare of themselves and posterity so much depended, and which they imagine must require more than ordinary pains to make it succeed; so that by the accumulated expenses every year of provisions, clothing, medicines, &c. for themselves, families and servants, several of them have expended all their money, nay, even run considerably in debt, and so have been obliged to leave off planting, and making further improvements; and those who continue, are daily exhausting more and more of their money, and some daily increasing their debts, without a possibility of being reimbursed, according to the present constitution. This being now the general state of the colony, it must be obvious, that people cannot subsist by their land according to the present establishment; and this being a truth resulting from trial, patience and experience, cannot be contradicted by any theoretical scheme of reasoning. The land then, according to the present constitution, not being able to maintain the settlers here, they must unavoidably have recourse to, and depend upon trade; but to our woful experience likewise, the same causes that prevent the first, obstruct the latter; for though the situation of this place is exceedingly well adapted to trade, and if it were encouraged might be much more improved by the inhabitants, yet the difficulties and restrictions which we hitherto have, and at present do labor under, debar us of that advantage. Timber is the only thing we have here which we can export, and notwithstanding we are obliged to fall it in planting our land, yet we cannot manufacture it fit for foreign market, but at double the expense of other colonies; as for instance, the river of May, which is but twenty miles from us, with the allowance of negroes, load vessels with that commodity at one half of the price that we can do; and what should induce persons to bring ships here, when they can be loaded with one half of the expense so near us? therefore the timber on the land is only a continual charge to the possessors of it, though of very great service in

all the northern colonies, where negroes are allowed, and consequently labor cheap. We do not in the least doubt, but that in time, silk and wine may be produced here, particularly the former; but since the cultivation of lands with white servants only, cannot raise provision for our families, as before mentioned, therefore it is likewise impossible to carry on these manufactures according to the present constitution. It is very well known that Carolina can raise every thing that this colony can, and they having their labor so much cheaper, will always ruin our market, unless we are in some measure on a footing with them; and as in both, the lands are worn out in four or five years, and then fit for nothing but pasture, we must always be at a great deal more expense than they in clearing new land for planting. The importation of necessaries for life comes to us at the most extravagant rate; merchants in general, especially of England, not being willing to supply the settlers with goods upon commission, because no person here can make them any security of their lands and improvements, as is very often practised in other places, to promote trade, where some of the employers money is laid out in necessary buildings and improvements, fitted for the trade intended; without which it cannot be carried on. The benefit of the importation, therefore, is to all transient persons, who do not lay out any money among us, but on the contrary carry every penny out of the place; and the chief reason for their enhancing the price, is, because they cannot get any goods here, either on freight or purchase for another merchant. If the advantage accruing from importation centered in the inhabitants, the profit thereof would naturally circulate amongst us, and be laid out in improvements in the colony.

“Your honors, we imagine, are not insensible of the numbers that have left this province, not being able to support themselves any longer, and those still remaining, who have money of their own, and credit with their friends, have laid out most of the former in improvements, and lost the latter by doing it

on such precarious titles; and upon account of the present establishment, not above two or three persons, except those brought on charity, and servants sent by you, have come here for the space of two years past, either to settle land or encourage trade, neither do we hear of any such likely to come, until we are on better terms.

“It is true, his majesty has been graciously pleased to grant a regiment for the defence of this province and the neighboring colony, which indeed will much assist us in defending ourselves against our enemies, but otherwise does not in the least contribute to our support; for all that part of their pay which is expended here, is laid out with transient people and our neighbors of Carolina, who are capable of supporting them with provisions and other necessaries at a moderate price, which we as before observed, are not at all capable of doing upon the present establishment: This being our present condition, it is obvious what the consequences must be.

“But we, for our parts, having entirely relied on, and confided in your good intentions, believing you would redress such grievances that should arise, and now by long experience from industry and continual application to improvement on our land, do find it impossible to pursue it, or subsist ourselves any longer, according to the present nature of the constitution: And likewise believing that you will agree to the measures which are found by experience, capable of making this colony succeed, and to promote which, we have spent all our money, time and labor. We do from a sincere regard to its welfare, and in duty, both to you and ourselves, beg leave to solicit your immediate consideration to the two following chief causes of these our misfortunes, and the deplorable state of the colony; and which, we are certain, if granted, would be an infallible remedy to both:

“First. The want of a free title or fee simple to our lands, which if granted, would occasion great numbers of new settlers to come amongst us, and likewise encourage those who remain here, cheerfully to proceed in making further improvements, as

well to retrieve their sunk fortunes, as to make provision for their posterity.

“Second. The want and use of negroes with proper limitations, which if granted, would both induce great numbers of white people to come here, and also render us capable of subsisting ourselves by raising provisions upon our lands, until we could make some produce from it for exportation, and in some measure to balance our importation. We are very sensible of the inconveniencies and mischiefs that have already and do daily arise from an unlimited use of negroes; but we are as sensible that these might be prevented by a proper limitation, such as, so many to each white man, or so many to such a quantity of land, or in any other manner which your honors shall think most proper. By granting us, gentlemen, these particulars, and such other privileges as his majesty’s most dutiful subjects in America enjoy, you will not only prevent our impending ruin, but we are fully satisfied also, will soon make this the most flourishing colony possessed by his majesty in America, and your memories will be perpetuated to all future ages, our latest posterity sounding your praises as their first founders, patrons and guardians: but if, by denying us those privileges, we ourselves and families are not only ruined, but even our posterity likewise; you will always be mentioned as the cause and authors of all their misfortunes and calamities; which we hope will never happen.

“We are with all due respect,
your honors most dutiful,
and obedient servants.

Savannah in Georgia, December 9th, 1738.”

This representation was signed by all the freeholders in the county of Savannah (now Chatham) except a few, who adhered to the arrangements of the trustees, and the plans of the general. Copies of this petition were drawn up, and one sent to the Revd Mr. Boltzius, at Ebenezer, and another to John Moore M’In-

tosh, at Darien. The Germans and Highlanders, not only refused joining in the petition, but drew up and signed a counter one, and Mr. McIntosh enclosed the one transmitted to him, to Oglethorpe, at Frederica. As these petitions form the counterpart of the former, and give a true impression of the embarrassments with which the general had to contend; it is thought proper to insert them:

“To his Excellency General Oglethorpe.

“We are informed that our neighbors of Savannah, have petitioned your excellency for the liberty of having slaves; we hope and earnestly intreat that before such proposals are harkened unto, your excellency will consider our situation, and of what dangerous and bad consequences such liberty would be to us, for many reasons.

“First. The nearness of the Spaniards, who have proclaimed freedom to all slaves who run from their masters, make it impossible for us to keep them, without more labor in watching them, than they would be at to do their work.

“Second. We are laborious, and know a white man may be by the year, more usefully employed than a negro.

“Third. We are not rich, and becoming debtors for slaves, in case of their running away, or dying, would inevitably ruin the poor master, and he become a greater slave to the negro merchant, than the slave he bought could be to him.

Fourth. It would oblige us to keep a guard duty, at least as severe as when we expected a daily invasion; and if that was the case, how miserable would it be to us, and our wives and children, to have an enemy without, and a more dangerous one in our bosom.

“Fifth. It is shocking to human nature, that any race of mankind, and their posterity, should be sentenced to perpetual slavery; nor in justice, can we think otherwise of it, than that they are thrown amongst us, to be our scourge one day or other for our sins; and as freedom to them must be as dear as to us,

what a sense of horror must it bring about ! and the longer it is unexecuted, the bloody scene must be the greater. We therefore for our own sakes, our wives and children, and our posterity, beg your consideration, and intreat that instead of introducing slaves, you will put us in the way to get some of our countrymen, who with their labor, in time of peace, and our vigilance, if we are invaded ; with the help of those will render it a difficult thing to hurt us, or that part of the province we possess. We will forever pray for your excellency, and are with all submission,

Your excellency's most obedient,

Humble servants, &c.

New-Inverness (*Darien*) 3d, Jan. 1739."

[This petition was signed by eighteen inhabitants of Darien.]

"*To his excellency Gen. Oglethorpe,*"

Ebenezer, 13th March, 1739.

"We the Saltzburghers, and inhabitants of Ebenezer, that have signed this letter, intreat humbly in our, and our brethren's names, your excellency would be pleased to show us the favor of desiring the honorable trustees for sending to Georgia, another transport of Saltzburghers, to be settled at Ebenezer. We have with one accord wrote a letter to our father in God, the Reverend Mr. Senior Urlspurger, at Augsperg, and in that letter expressly named those Saltzburgers and Austrians, whom, as our friends, relations and countrymen, we wish to settle here. We can indeed attest of them, that they fear the Lord truly, love working, and will conform themselves to our congregation. We have given them an account of our being settled well, and being mighty well pleased with the climate and condition of this country, having here several preferences in spiritual and temporal circumstances, for other people in Germany, which your honor will find in the here-enclosed copy of our letter to Mr. Senior Urlsperger ; if they fare as we do, having been provided in the beginning with provisions, a little stock for breeding, some tools

and good land, by the care of the honorable trustees, and if God grants his blessing to their work, we doubt not, but they will gain with us, easily, their bread and subsistence, and lead a quiet and peaceable life, in all godliness and honesty. Though it is here a hotter climate than our native country is, yet not so extremely hot as we were told on the first time of our arrival; but since we have now been used to the country, we find it tolerable, and for working people very convenient, setting themselves to work early in the morning, till ten o'clock, and in the afternoon, from three to sunset; and having business at home, we do them in our huts and houses, in the middle of the day, till the greatest heat is over. People in Germany are hindered by frost and snow in the winter, from doing any work in the fields and vineyards: but we have this preference, to do the most and heaviest work at such a time, preparing the ground sufficiently for planting in the spring. We were told by several people, after our arrival, that it proves quite impossible and dangerous for white people to plant and manufacture the rice, being a work only for negroes, not for European people; but having experience of the contrary, we laugh at such a talking, seeing that several people of us have had, in last harvest, a greater crop of rice than they wanted for their own consumption. If God is pleased to enable us, by some money, for building such mills convenient for the cleaning the rice, as we use in Germany for the making several grains fit for eating, then the manufacture of rice will be an easy and profitable thing: For the present we crave your excellencies goodness to allow for the use of the whole congregation, some rice sieves of several sorts, from Charleston, which cannot be had at Savannah; we will be accountable to the store for them.—Of corn, pease, potatoes, pumpkins, &c. we had such a good quantity, that many bushels were, and much was spent in feeding calves, cows and hogs. If the surveyor, according to his order and duty, had used dispatch in laying out our farms, (which we have got not sooner than last fall.) *Item*; if not, we all were disappointed by long sickness,

and planting the yellow Pennsylvania corn, we should have been able, by the blessing of God, to spare a greater quantity of grain, for getting meat kind and clothes, of which we are in want. It is true, the ten acres of ground for each families garden, are set out some time ago; but there being very few swamps fit for planting rice, and some of them wanting a great deal of manure, we were not able in the beginning to manure it well, therefore we could not make such a good use of those acres as we now have reason to hope, by the assistance of God, after our plantations are laid out. Hence it is that we plant the good ground first, and improve the other soil then, when occasion may require it, in the best manner we can. In the first time, when the ground must be cleared from trees, bushes and roots, and fenced in carefully, we are to undergo some hard labor, which afterwards will be easier and more pleasing, when the hardest trial is over, and our plantations are better regulated. A good deal of time was spent in building huts, houses and other necessary buildings in town, and upon the farms; and since we wanted money for several expences, several persons of us have hired ourselves out, for some weeks, for building the orphan-house, and its appurtenances.—*Item*; the Reverend Mr. Gronau's house, which happened to be built in the hottest summer season; and now some of us are employed to build the Reverend Mr. Bolzius' house, which buildings have taken away some time from our work in the ground; but the fair opportunity of earning some money at home, was a great benefit to us: this being so, that neither the hot summer season, or any thing else, hinders us from working the ground; and we wish to live a quiet and peaceable life at our place. We humbly beseech the honorable trustees not to allow it, that any negroes might be brought to our place, or in our neighborhood; knowing by experience that our fields and gardens will be always robbed by them, and white persons be put in danger of life because of them, besides other great inconveniences: likewise we humbly beseech you and the trustees, not to give any person the liberty of buying

up lands at our place, by which, if granted, it would happen, that by bad and turbulent neighbors, our congregation would be spoiled, and poor harmless people troubled and oppressed; but we wish and long for such neighbors to be settled here, whose good name and honest behaviour, is known to us and our favorers. The honorable trustees have been always favorers and protectors of poor and distressed people, therefore we beseech you and them, they would be pleased to take us farther under your fatherly care, that the remembrance of their benevolence and kindness to our congregation, might be conveyed to our late posterity, and be highly praised. We put up our prayers to God for rewarding your excellency, and the honorable trustees manifold, for all their good assistance and benefits which are bestowed upon us, and humbly beg the continuance of your and their favor and protection, being with the greatest submission and respect,

Your honors most obedient dutiful servants."

[This petition was signed by the inhabitants of Ebenezer.]

"We the ministers of the congregation at Ebenezer, join with the Saltzburghers in this petition, and verify, that every one of them has signed it with the greatest readiness and satisfaction.

JOHN MARTIN BOBLIUS,
ISRAEL CHRISTIAN GRONDER."

If the same people had been settled in a country, some hundreds of leagues from the other colonies of Great-Britain, out of the reach of such examples and indulgencies as were granted to the Carolinians, it is probable that they might have submitted to the regulations which were established for their government: but they considered themselves as forming a bulwark on advanced ground, for the defence of their neighbors and their property, against the Spaniards. Notwithstanding the trustees required nothing from the people, but what they had bound themselves by covenants and indentures to perform, yet they

considered themselves as subjects to the same king, consequently entitled to the same privileges. The Germans and Highlanders having been brought up in the habits of industry, yielded to a fulfilment of their contracts for the public good, and under a full confidence that the trustees would, in due time, extend to them such privileges as would eventually tend to their interest and happiness. The people about Savannah, having been, not only useless members, but burthensome to society at home, determined to be equally so abroad; and as they generally, had nothing to loose, they determined obstinately to persist in their demands until their wishes were gratified, or the colony ruined. Idleness and dissipation prevailed to such a formidable degree, that the people were on the verge of starvation. The object of the trustees was to compel them to labor, and their object was to live without labor. There were many reasons however, on account of which, the complaints of the settlers were entitled to some notice by their patrons. The land about Savannah was granted indiscriminately, without any regard to its quality, or the ability of the owner to cultivate it: some of the lots were rich and valuable, others poor. The farmer who was obliged to cultivate pine land, was absolutely compelled to plant where he could not reap a valuable consideration for his labor. The river or swamp land was clothed with an immense quantity of heavy timber, and with all the advantages of experience, it requires twenty hands one year, to put forty acres of it in a condition for advantageous cultivation. The air from the swamps was pregnant with nauseous qualities, generating disease and ending in debility: the sea-breezes could not penetrate the thick forest sufficiently to agitate the air, which at some seasons, is thick, heavy and foggy, at others, clear, close and suffocating; either of which was considered pernicious to health. The poor settlers considered that the wild beasts had been robbed of their birth-right, when this howling wilderness was fixed on for a human habitation. The progress of the colony was also retarded by wild speculative schemes, of its most favorable pro-

ductions: silk and wine appear to have been the delusive phantoms that misled the trustees. The first objects of cultivation should have been directed to necessary food and clothing for the people: no other colony lay so convenient for supplying the West-Indies with pease, beans, potatoes, &c. for which the demand was great, and the furnishing these articles would have been profitable; though the West-India islands produced those articles, the planters would rather have purchased than raised them, because they could have turned their attention to other species of cultivation which were more profitable. Abundance of stock, particularly hogs and cattle, might have been raised in Georgia for the same market: lumber was also in demand, and might have been rendered profitable to the province, had it not been prevented by the restrictions of the trustees. European grain, such as wheat, rye, barley and oats, would have thriven almost as well upon an oyster bank, as on the sandy land of Georgia, though the interior is well adapted to their culture. Silk and wine were not found to answer their expectations, because the process was too tedious for a new colony.

The complaints of the people of the province, however ignorant they might be, ought not to have been entirely disregarded by the trustees: experience suggested those inconveniences and troubles, from which they implored relief: the hints they gave, certainly ought to have been improved towards correcting errors in the plan of settlement, and forming another, which promised prospects more favorable and advantageous to them. The scattered thoughts of simple individuals, sometimes afford to wiser men, materials for forming correct opinions, and become the ground work of the most beneficial regulations. The opinion of the people individually, ought not to be excluded from the attention and regard of their rulers. The honor of the trustees, and the gratification they hoped to experience from their laudable undertaking, depended upon the success and happiness of the settlers; and it was impossible for the people to succeed and be happy, deprived of those encouragements, lib-

erties and privileges, necessary to the first state of colonization. A title for land which would have secured it to themselves and their offspring, both male and female, ought to have been given; liberty to choose it of such quality as would promise to reward them for their labour, and then to manage it in such manner as appeared to themselves most conducive to their interest: these would have been incentives to industry, and opened to the view of the industrious planter, the prospect of opulence and wealth, for himself and his descendants. Such encouragements might have been given without opening to the speculator a field for the monopoly of land, by the introduction of restrictions in their grants, such as the prohibition of mortgages and sales.

While the people of Georgia were laboring under these difficulties and petitioning unsuccessfully for relief, the king was giving every encouragement for the rapid settlement of the adjoining colony. Fee-simple titles were offered for the choice of land, unshackled by restrictions, either as to trade or slavery.

CHAPTER III.

SEVERAL years had passed without an open rupture between England and Spain, yet there was not a good understanding between the two courts; either as regarded the privileges of navigation, or the southern limits of Georgia. To the first, the Spaniards pretended they had an exclusive right to the territories and waters lying within certain latitudes in the bay of Mexico. The British merchants claimed by treaty, the privilege of cutting log-wood on the bay of Campeachy—this liberty had been tolerated by Spain for several years, and the British merchants from avaricious motives, extended their claim of privileges to a traffic with the Spaniards, and supplied them with English manufactures. To prevent this illicit trade, the Spaniards doubled their maritime force on that station, with orders to board and search every English vessel found in those seas, and directed seizures to be made on all vessels carrying contraband commodities, and the sailors to be confined. At length not only smugglers but fair traders were searched and detained, so that the commerce was entirely obstructed.—The British became clamorous, against such depredations to their ministry, which produced one remonstrance after another to the Spanish court; all of which were answered by evasive promises and vexatious delays.

The British minister, notorious for his pacific disposition, had long been flattered with promises of enquiry and redress of grievances, and suffered the complaints to remain unredressed, to the injury of the trade, and great loss of the nation.—Considerable reinforcements were sent to the garrison at Augustine, and a surplus of arms, ammunition and provisions, supposed to be intended for the Indians. These circumstances and preparations, with the demands which had been made of Oglethorpe, were sufficient to show to Georgia and Carolina, the necessity of holding themselves in readiness to oppose the hos-

tilities which were evidently preparing for them. Lieut. governor Bull of South Carolina, despatched advice to England of the growing power of Spain in East Florida, and acquainted the trustees that such preparations were making there, as evidently portended hostilities; and as the Spaniards pretended to have a claim to Georgia, there were strong grounds to believe that they intended to assert their claim by force of arms. The king resolved to vindicate the honor of his crown, and maintain the right to his territories in Georgia, together with the freedom of commerce and navigation in the Mexican seas. The pacific disposition of his minister, Sir Robert Walpole, had drawn upon him the displeasure of the nation, particularly of the mercantile part; and that amazing power and authority which he had long maintained, began to decline: the spirit of the nation was roused, and the administration could no longer wink at the insults, depredations and cruelties, which had been practised by Spain. Instructions were despatched to the British ambassador at Madrid, to demand in absolute terms, a compensation for the injuries of trade: this produced an order from the Spanish court to the ambassador, to allow the amount to the British merchants, upon condition of the Spanish demand upon the south-sea company being deducted, and Oglethorpe's settlers recalled from Georgia; and no more employed in that quarter, as he had there made great encroachments on his Catholic majesty's dominions. These conditions were received at the court of Great-Britain with that indignation which might have been expected from an injured nation. The Spanish ambassador at London, was informed that the king of England was determined, never to relinquish his right to a single foot of land in the province of Georgia; and that he must allow his subjects to make reprisals, since satisfaction for their losses in trade could in no other way be obtained.

The Hector and Blanford ships of war, had been ordered to transport general Oglethorpe's regiment to Georgia, where they arrived in September 1738. The colonists rejoiced at their

arrival, having been harrassed by frequent alarms; they now found themselves relieved, and placed in such circumstances as enabled them to bid defiance to the Spanish power.

The general established his head-quarters at Frederica and placed small garrisons on Jekyl and Cumberland islands to watch the motions of the enemy. While preparations were making in England to guard against the hostility of Spain, the Spanish agents from Augustine, had been busily employed in seducing the Creek Indians, who had formed a great attachment for general Oglethorpe, and impressed them with a belief that he was at Augustine, and promised them considerable presents if they would pay him a visit at that place. Accordingly some of them went down to see their beloved man, as they called him; but finding he was not there, they were highly offended at the deception attempted to be practised upon them. The Spanish governor in order to cover the fraud, or probably with a design to convey their leaders out of the way, that he might have the less difficulty in corrupting their nation by a Pizarro stratagem, pretended that the general was sick on board of a ship in the harbor, where he would be extremely glad to see them; but the Indians, suspicious of some deep design, refused to go, rejected their presents and offers of alliance, and immediately left the place: when they returned to their towns, they found an invitation from the general, to meet him at Frederica, which evidenced to them the insidious designs of the Spaniards, and tended to increase the general's influence and power over them. A number of the chiefs and warriors repaired to the place appointed, where they received the thanks of the general for their fidelity: he made them many valuable presents and renewed the treaty of friendship and alliance. At this meeting, they offered the general every aid in their power; agreed to march a thousand men to his assistance whenever he demanded them, and invited him to pay a visit to their towns: he excused himself by stating the multiplicity of business, which would necessarily occupy his time in settling the province, and

making arrangements for its defence against the Spaniards; but promised them a visit the next summer, and dismissed them much pleased with his kindness and hospitality, and disgusted with the Spaniards for the deception which was evidently intended to be practised upon them at Augustine.

In this state of anxiety and perplexity, the general's mind was harrassed with the complaints of the colonists. They wanted rum, they wanted slaves, and they wanted fee-simple titles to their lands. The following is offered as a sample of their outrageous discontents; and in which was enclosed a copy of the petition from the people at Savannah to the trustees:

To the honorable James Oglethorpe, Esquire, general and commander in chief over all his majesty's forces in South Carolina and Georgia, &c. at Frederica.

"SIR,

"It is the common misfortune of all who act in the higher stations of life, to be surrounded by flatterers, who consult rather the humors, passions and prejudices of their patrons, than their honor and interest: this should induce every person in such station, who regards his own honor, interest and fame, to lend an open and attentive ear to truth, in whatever shape, or from whatever hand delivered. I have no other basis, motive or interest in view, farther than as I am a member of the colony, and a well wisher to the happiness of society, unless a real and sincere regard to your honor and welfare, and an earnest desire to restore you to that quiet of mind and the now suspended affections of the people, which the present state of affairs must necessarily deprive you of; it is not therefore of consequence to enquire who writes, but what is written. I am, sir, a plain dealer, and shall, with the greatest respect, use you with more sincerity than ceremony, and if any arguments can attain the desired effect, you will, I doubt not, think me your and the colony's real friend. When a skilful physician would relieve his patient of a disease, he traces it from the beginning, and examines the

sources and progress of it, in order that by finding out the cause, he may the more certainly apply a remedy: in the body politic the same process is necessary to effect a cure. The present languishing and almost desperate condition of the affairs of this province, is too obvious to your excellency to need a description: be pleased then, to lay aside prepossession and prejudice, to retire unto yourself, and examine impartially whence the present misfortunes take rise; in order to do which, let me present your excellency with a view of the nation's designs in establishing this colony; and indeed they were and are nothing unsuitable to a British or Roman spirit; the establishing a strong and numerous settlement as a barrier and safe guard to British America. To employ those persons in effecting this end who were least useful at home, and others who from reasonableness of profit should voluntarily proffer their service: to restore liberty and happiness to those who, oppressed by the common misfortunes of mankind, were groaning under the consequences of those misfortunes, and incapable of serving themselves or country at home: And lastly, to set afoot such new manufactures as might be most useful to support the colony, or tend to rectify the balance of trade of Great-Britain with neighboring nations—a design truly great, founded on the justest policy, and practicable. To suggest that any low private design was ever laid down, that might tend to make the adventurers slaves, or, at best, tenants at will; or that it was a concert to leave the industry and substance of the settlers exposed to satisfy the ambition or covetousness of an after governor, or any particular courtier or party; or to imagine that the honorable board of trustees or any of them, could be capable of such a concert; I say, sir, that such a thought were impious. What wonder then, if numbers of persons, encouraged by his majesty's most ample rights and privileges, granted in his royal charter to the honorable trustees for the behalf of the inhabitants; from the beautiful description of the fertility of the soil and happiness of the climate; and lastly, from a view that Mr. Oglethorpe, a gentle-

man of the greatest humanity and generosity, was willing to sacrifice his ease, and all those pleasures and enjoyments which his easy circumstances in life intitled him to, in order to be the patron and father of the distressed, and the distinguished friend of his country, society and human nature: I say, sir, no wonder if numbers upon those views, embarked their persons, families and fates, in such an adventure. Shall any thing then intervene to render such a noble design abortive, and frustrate those of their expected happiness, or your excellency of your deserved honors? God forbid!

“This colony consists of two sorts of people; either those whom the public sent over, or volunteers;* who were not burthensome to the public; both now I look upon in the same light, as either party have exhausted their support or private stocks, in endeavoring to prosecute the intended plan; but it shall suffice for my argument, that so many of each kind have applied themselves to this purpose as are sufficient to confirm the experiment, that it is impossible for us, with British or foreign servants, to afford the lowest necessities of life, much less to increase our stocks, or defray the many exigencies and disappointments that this soil and climate, are inevitably exposed to: this I take to be granted; and would to God the success of the colony depended on establishing the most satisfactory proofs of it! And as for persons who, from selfish views, have imposed upon the credulity of the honorable trustees, by representing things in colors distant from truth; it were superfluous to curse them. I do not say, but in time manufactures may be founded more suitable to the strength and constitution of British servants, that might support and enrich the colony; I heartily pray for that happy period; and should then condemn and dissent from any who would not be content with the present regulation; but as in the interim, production of necessities is absolutely requisite, and under the present establishment impracticable; it follows of course, that either the scheme

* Such as came at their own expense.

must be altered or the design abandoned. At the first it was a trial, now it is an experiment; and certainly no man or society need be ashamed to own, that from unforeseen emergencies the hypothesis did misgive; and no person of judgment would censure for want of success when the proposal was probable; but all the world would exclaim against that person or society, who through mistaken notions of honor, and positiveness of temper, would persist in pushing an experiment, contrary to all probability, to the ruin of the adventurers. How many methods may be found out by the wisdom of the trustees, for remedying this inconvenience, I know not; one only occurs to me, which is, the admitting a certain number of negroes, sufficient to ease the white servants from those labors that are most fatal to a British constitution: I am very sensible of the inconveniences of an unlimited use of them in a frontier colony; but am as sensible that those inconveniences may be prevented by prudent regulations; and their admission for executing the more laborious parts of culture, made the means to attract numbers of white servants, who would otherwise fly the place as a purgatory or charnel-house. If our labor and toil is not capable of providing mere necessities by cultivation of land, much less by trade; for as all the neighboring colonies, by reason of their negroes, prosecute all branches of it at a sixth part of the expense we can; they would forever preclude us of any benefit therefrom: and supposing what cannot be admitted, that the nation would consent to give a perpetual fund for making up all those deficiencies, what benefit could we accrue to the nation? or what to the settlers, but a present bare subsistence? and what the certain consequence but the bequeathing a numerous legacy of orphans to the care of Providence, since no period of time can be affixed when such a support would enable us to provide for ourselves? A second reason which disables us to improve either by land or trade, is our want of credit: You know very well, that both the mercantile and mechanic part of mankind, live more by credit than stock; and the man who has

a probable scheme of improving credit, is naturally intitled to it: As we have no stock further to dispense, either in cultivation or trade, we are reduced to need the support of credit; which the present restrictions of our legal rights and titles to our land deprive us of. It is true, indeed the trustees have assured us, that those and other restrictions, are only temporary, and for the welfare of the first settlement, until a proper body of laws, which was upon the carpet, should be perfected; and I am far from disputing the reasonableness of that resolution, while either the public support or private stocks, kept us from needing credit; but that now the case is altered, the necessity of moving those restrictions is arrived, to preserve the remains of the colony not yet dissolved, and far too late for hundreds, whom necessity has dispersed in other corners of the world: this is a truth sir, too obvious to need further enlargement.

“Hence it is clear we can insist on demanding our privileges as British subjects, from the trustees’ promises; but we likewise claim them as law, justice and property. Your excellency was pleased in the court-house of Savannah, to use a comparison to satisfy the minds of the people, of a man who would lend his horse but not his saddle, which one refusing another accepted of: this I humbly take it, no way meets the case: the king’s majesty was owner both of horse and saddle, of the lands and rights, and gave us both in his charter; we ask but what is there given us. The reliance on the public faith brought us to this colony, and to endeavor to obviate or disappoint the effects of those promises which tempted us here, were to justify the decoying us to misery, under the sanction of the royal authority, than which nothing could be more injurious to the fountain of honor. I shall suppose, that were full and ample rights given, that some idle persons, who had no judgment to value, or inclination to improve their properties, no affections for their families or relations, might dispose of their rights for a glass of rum; but I absolutely deny that the colony could loose by such an exchange: I own that such persons were much

safer if bound than at liberty; but where the affections of the parent and the reason of the man die, the person is a fitter inhabitant for *moor-field* than *Georgia*. I must notice farther, that not only are parents incapable for want of credit, to provide for themselves, being necessitated to dispose of their servants for want of provisions; but if they could, only their eldest son could reap the benefit, their younger children, however numerous, are left to be fed by him who feeds the ravens; and if they have no children, their labor and substance descends to strangers: how sir, would you, or indeed any free born spirits, brook such a tenure? are not our younger sons and daughters equally entitled to our bowels and affections? and does human nature end with our first born, and not extend itself to the rest of our progeny and more distant relations? and is it not inverting the order of nature, that the eldest son should not only enjoy a double portion, but exclude all the younger children? and having an interest independent of the parents, how natural is it he should withdraw that obedience and subjection, which proceeds from parental authority and filial dependance! the trustees are but a channel to convey to us the king's rights, and cannot in law or equity, and I dare say, will not abridge those rights. Can we suppose that we are singled out for a state of misery and servitude, and that so many honorable personages are instruments of it? far be the thoughts from us! the genius of the British nation, so remarkably zealous for liberty and the rights of mankind, will never suffer British subjects, who have not fled their country from crimes, but voluntarily proffered their services and resigned their *all*, upon the confidence of the public faith and the trustees' honor, to accomplish a settlement upon the most dangerous point of his majesty's dominions: I say, it will never allow such to be deprived of public promises, or the natural liberties of British subjects; as we are on a frontier, where our lives and fortunes may more frequently come into dispute than other people's, our privileges and supports should be proportionably greater; for who would

venture his life to secure no property, or fight to secure to himself poverty and misery? and no doubt our cunning and vigilant adversaries, the French and Spaniards, would know how to make their own advantage: the king has been very gracious, and your endeavors generous and useful, in procuring a regiment, and not only the support of the soldiers, but your own honor, glory and reputation, are intermixed with the fate of the colony, and must stand or fall with it.

“To come closer to the point; please to consider the consequences of refusing the representation of the colony, whereof your excellency as one of the honorable board will be furnished with a copy, and how these consequences may affect the colony, the nation, the trustees, the military establishment in the province, the Indians, and your excellency.

“As to the colony, the deferring hitherto the necessary relief, has already too tragically affected it, by dispersing a great part of the inhabitants; the remainder in a languishing condition, supported more with faint hopes and a continued reliance on the honor of the nation and trustees, than victuals; while want and meagre famine guard the doors of many, and render them equally incapable to stay or go: the town so beautifully situated to the honor of the contriver, bearing the most visible signs of decay and mortality before it is fully born; and the once cultivated plantations now overgrown with weeds and brush, are so many *hic jacets* of such and such persons and families! I wish it were possible to draw a veil over this tragic scene! but sir, our case is more claimant than a thousand tongues, and will reach the ears and pierce the hearts of every free Briton. If such be the effects of delay, what will the total dissolution of the colony produce? Such a body of miserable people, orphans and suppliants, will be heard by the justice of the nation; and if it shall appear, that they too, positively adhering to an impracticable scheme, and the refusing those obvious means that would answer the proposed end, or with-holding those just rights which we are entitled to, have been the cause; we should

have a right to recover damages from the authors of our misery: in all places where settlements were attempted by the English, and found untenable, the settlers were taken home upon public charge, their losses were recompensed, and they made otherwise useful to the community; while we are neither allowed to do for ourselves here or elsewhere. As to the second point, how the nation would be affected by it: it is first obvious, that all the noble ends and advantages they proposed are lost, and sums of money expended to no purpose, but to inform the French and Spaniards of the importance of a pass which they would not fail to possess. It were impossible to make a second settlement upon the present plan, and if it is to be altered in favor of others, why not of us, who have risked and spent our all in the adventure? How the trustees may be affected by it in all respects, I shall not say; a parliamentary enquiry into their management, I no ways question but they would entirely satisfy; but all good men will regret, that so honorable a body should lose that glory and fame, which the prosperous success of the colony would have crowned them with. I have formerly asserted, that only the flourishing state of the colony, can support the military; and indeed without a colony, it were easier to maintain a garrison in Tangier on the coast of Africa, than in the south of Georgia. One regiment would little suffice to withstand the enemy; and yet so small a handful may be reduced to discontent, straits and want, notwithstanding all the bounty of a king, or prudence of a general. As to the Indians, what could we expect less than being scorned and despised? that they should immediately fall in with the tempting proffers of the French and Spaniards, and so Great-Britain cut off from that valuable branch of the Indian trade; for how indeed could they expect execution of treaties or protection from people who, without the force of an enemy, could not preserve their own schemes of government from falling to pieces. How the tragedy must affect your excellency, would be presumption in me to determine: I only know, that to see those you honor with

the name of children, in want and misery; that settlement which should have perpetuated your name to posterity with the greatest honor, become the foil of all your great undertakings, and the expectations of all the world, from your promising endeavors, setting in a cloud and obscurity, must affect your excellency in a way suitable to your humane and generous disposition.

“Sir, we still love, honor and respect you, whatever low selfish minded persons, the bane of society, may surmise to the contrary; and will continue to do so, while we can have any hopes of your pursuing measures consistent with our prosperity: but, sir, smiles cannot be expected amidst disappointments and wants; and there is no altering the course of nature. Love and gratitude are the tribute of favors and protections, and resentment the consequence of injuries received; and in disappointments of this nature much more reasonably than in those of love, do the contrary passions take place in the same degree. What then remains, but that you embrace those obvious measures, that will retrieve our desperate affairs; restore to us, in Mr. Oglethorpe, our father and protector, whose honor and affection was depended upon; secure to yourself a society that loves and honors you; and who will always be ready to sacrifice both life and fortune to your honor and protection; and your name with blessings will be perpetuated. If in this I have, by a sincere and well meant freedom, given offence, I heartily ask pardon; none was intended: and I only request, that while truth keeps the stage, the author may be allowed to remain incog, behind the scenes.”

“THE PLAIN DEALER.”

[This letter was attributed to the pen of Patrick Tailfer.]

When Gen. Oglethorpe received this letter, he had devoted six years of the prime of his life to their service; crossed the Atlantic Ocean five times; spent a large portion of his private funds; exposed his person to hardships in an inhospitable climate and to the dangers of the sea; secluded himself from the

society of a court, where he might have rolled in easy affluence and indulged in luxury. These sacrifices were made without the expectation of any other reward, than the gratification of closing a well spent life, with the sweet consolation of having devoted a considerable portion of it to the good of his country, and to the happiness and advantage of his fellow-creatures.

Foreseeing that no bounds could be limited to the introduction of slaves, which would not be ruinous to the colony in its present situation, he determined to persevere in the prohibition of negroes, until the state of the country would justify a change of policy.

The darling object of general Oglethorpe, was to restrain the Spaniards to the south of St. Johns; for which purpose he had a chain of forts from Augusta to the mouth of that river. The geography of the country at that time was very little known, and in support of his claim, in his discussions with the Spaniards, he contended that the St. Johns was the real southern branch of the Alatomaha. His establishments on St. Simons and Jekyl, were very considerable and admirably built. His large brewery on Jekyl, furnished beer for all the troops in great abundance; but notwithstanding his determination to keep ardent spirits out of the province, it was found impracticable after the arrival of his regiment, and so feeble were the exertions to suppress this uncontrollable desire of quaffing this nectar of the Scotch, that gen. Oglethorpe, while setting in the drawing rooms of respectable settlers or officers, they would frequently retire to an adjoining room and indulge in the use of ardent spirits; at the smell of which he would say—woe to the liquor if it came to his sight: that which he discovered was always thrown away. In short, we can have but feint ideas of the difficulties which he had to encounter, to preserve that kind of order and support those rules, which he thought best calculated for the government of the people.

Before the general returned from England, several merchants and captains of vessels, having their own interest only

in view, carried into the colony from New-York and other places, large cargoes of provisions and other articles, which the store-keeper at Savannah had been bribed to purchase on account of the trustees, without their authority. The amounts were considerable and the funds were found unequal to the discharge of the debts. The trustees, having a due regard to their public credit, gave public notice, that all the expenses which they had ordered, or should thereafter order to be incurred in America, for the use of the colony, should be defrayed and paid for in Georgia, in sola bills of exchange only, under their seal: and that no person whatsoever had any authority from them, or in their name, or for their account, to purchase or receive any cargoes of provisions, stores or other necessaries, without paying for them in the said sola bills.

The trustees, both by letters and instructions, to their magistrates, had frequently exhorted and encouraged the people to the cultivation of their lands as a source on which they must soon depend for their support; and as many of those who were sent over on the charity of the trustees, as well as others who had come from other colonies for a temporary maintenance, continuing in their idle habits, had become burthensome vagabonds; they gave orders to discontinue supplies to those who neglected to cultivate their lands.

In the last year, the assembly of South-Carolina, passed an ordinance for raising a sum to indemnify their traders, in opposition to an act which was approved by his majesty in council, for maintaining the peace with the Indians in the province of Georgia: upon a memorial from the trustees complaining of the ordinance of Carolina, and upon a petition of the council and assembly of South-Carolina, against the act approved by his majesty, there was a solemn hearing before the lords commissioners of trade and plantations, and afterwards, before a committee of the lords of his majesty's privy council: Whereupon his majesty was pleased to order, that the said ordinance of South-Carolina, should be repealed and declared void; and

to instruct the trustees to prepare a proper act or ordinance, for settling the trade carried on by the provinces of South-Carolina and Georgia with the Indians, on such footing as might be mutually beneficial to both provinces; which was notified to the governor of South-Carolina. General Oglethorpe was also furnished with a copy, accompanied with instructions, to consult with lieut. governor Bull; that the result of their deliberations might be transmitted to the trustees for their consideration; and that in the mean time, the commissioners of the two provinces, might proceed to concert such measures as to carry on a mutual trade with the Indians in both provinces.

William Stephens, who had lately been appointed secretary in Georgia, informed the trustees that the grand jury at Savannah, claimed the right of administering oaths, and making enquiry thereon, into all such matters as they should think fit; and the trustees having perceived in a representation from them, that they had exercised such power, Stephens was instructed to acquaint them, that the trustees were sensible of the mischievous consequences which might arise from the exercise of such power, by having themselves placed upon the pannel, if this claim of the grand jury was admitted.

In another letter received by the trustees from Stephens, he renewed the representation of the uneasiness and discontents which prevailed amongst the people, against the tenures upon which they held their lands, and related many instances of injustice being practised by the male heir, against the widowed mother and her other children. He urged for their consideration that the colony had been so long established, the inhabitants become so numerous, and a regiment being stationed in the province for its defence; the former tenure had become less necessary: accordingly on the 15th of March, 1739, at their annual meeting, the trustees passed a resolution, that in default of male issue, any legal possessor of land, might by a deed in writing, or by his last will and testatment, appoint his daughter as his successor, or any other male or female relation; with

a proviso, that the successor should in the proper court in Georgia, personally claim the lot granted or devised, within eighteen months after the decease of the grantor or devisor. This privilege was soon after extended to every legal possessor, who was empowered to appoint any other person to be his successor. Whilst the trustees were employed in altering their former regulations for the satisfaction of the colonists, the petitions were received, for and against the introduction of negroes. It is worthy of remark, that the industrious Germans and Highlanders, who were busily employed in the cultivation of their farms, were opposed to the principles of slavery. These were forcible arguments in favor of an adherence to their former plans and regulations, and no doubt formed the basis on which the rejection of the petition from Savannah was founded.

While the general was preparing his colony for defence against the invasion of an enemy, and harassed and perplexed with the complaints of his settlers, treason had found its way into the centre of his camp, and a deep laid plot had been planned to assassinate him. Two companies of his regiment had been drawn from Gibraltar, some of whom could speak the Spanish language: detachments from these companies had been stationed on Cumberland Island, and the Spanish outposts on the other side, could approach so near as to converse with them: one man of these companies had been in the Spanish service, and not only understood their language, but had so much of the old Roman Catholic spirit, as to feel an aversion to the Protestant religion. The Spaniards had found through this villain the means of corrupting the minds of several of the British soldiers, and they united in forming a design to murder general Oglethorpe, and then make their escape to Augustine. Accordingly the day was fixed, and the soldiers who were concerned in the plot, came up to the general, and made some extraordinary demands, as a pretext for the execution of their diabolical purposes; which as they expected, being refused, a signal being given which was well understood, one of

them discharged his piece at the general, and being only at the distance of a few paces, the ball passed over his shoulder, and the powder burned his face and singed his cloathes: another presented his piece and attempted to fire, but the powder only flashed in the pan; a third drew his hanger and endeavored to stab him: the general by this time, having drawn his sword, parried the thrust, and an officer came up, run the ruffian through the body and killed him upon the spot. The mutineers discouraged by the failure of their first effort, attempted to escape by flight, but were caught and laid in irons. A court martial was ordered to try the ring-leaders of this desperate conspiracy, some of whom were found guilty and sentenced to be shot. Thus miraculously the general escaped, and the principal conspirators fell victims to that fate, which their conduct had so justly merited.

Another and more dreadful effort of Spanish policy, was attempted to be practiced about the same time in South-Carolina, and would, if it had succeeded, have been attended with the most fatal, bloody and dreadful consequences. Emissaries had been sent from Augustine to Carolina, with a design to stir up an insurrection amongst the negroes, whose number had by that time amounted to forty thousand, while the white population was estimated at about one-eighth of that number. This race of people whose constitutions were adapted to the climate, and who could not be supposed to be contented in slavery, would grasp with avidity at the most desperate attempts which promised freedom. Long had liberty and protection been promised and proclaimed to them, by the Spaniards at Augustine, nor were the negroes strangers to the proclamation. At different times the emissaries of Spain had been detected in tampering with them, and the present moment seemed to be favorable for the adoption of the means of depopulating Carolina, and consequently Georgia, by a general massacre. The governor of Florida had formed a regiment of these refugees, and appointed officers from amongst themselves, allowing them the same pay,

clothing, subsistence and other privileges, with the regular Spanish soldiers. The slaves of Carolina were aware of these inducements, and when they ran away from their masters, directed their course to Augustine. At length negro sergeants were employed on the recruiting service, and had a secret rendezvous in Carolina. Two Spaniards were seized in Georgia and committed to prison, for enticing slaves from Carolina to join this regiment: five negroes belonging to captain M'Pherson, who had been employed in herding cattle; after wounding his son, and killing another man, made their escape to Florida and were protected: at length a number of negroes collected at Stono, hoisted their standard, proclaimed open rebellion, marched through the country with drums beating and colours flying; plundered and burned several houses, and murdered men, women and children; and but for the circumstance of the white men's carrying their guns with them to church, from a dread of the Indians, a most bloody scene must have ensued. The whole country was in a state of terror and consternation, expecting to be sacrificed to the power and indiscriminate fury of their slaves: fortunately the armed men from the church made a judicious attack upon their head quarters and they were dispersed. When the governor of South-Carolina advised general Oglethorpe of the insurrection, he doubled his vigilance in Georgia, and seized all straggling Spaniards and negroes, who were found passing through the province.

In the mean time matters were hastening to a rupture in Europe, and a war between Great-Britain and Spain appeared to be unavoidable. The plenipotentiaries appointed for settling the boundaries between Georgia and Florida, and other differences subsisting between the two crowns, had met at Pardo in convention, where preliminaries were drawn up; but the conference ended unsatisfactorily to both parties. The proposal of a negociation and the appointment of plenipotentiaries, gave universal offence to the people of England, who breathed nothing but war and vengeance against the proud

and arrogant Spaniards: hostile preparations were made; all the officers of the navy and army were ordered to their stations, and with the unanimous voice of the nation, war was declared against Spain on the 23d of October, 1739.

The settlers of Georgia had not increased with that rapidity which had been anticipated by the trustees, nor was its condition by any means flourishing, considering the immense sums of money which they had expended. The number of the former, and the amount of the latter, up to this period, will be satisfactory to the reader.

Number of Inhabitants, as added from the first year.		Contributions.		
		L.	S.	D.
First year	152	3,723	13	7
Second do	341	11,502	19	3
Third do	81	31,416	7	7
Fourth do	470	2,164	19	6 $\frac{3}{4}$
Fifth do	32	13,627	18	7
Sixth do	298	20,909	19	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
Seventh do	9	8,473	9	4
Eighth do	138	20,181	4	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total	1,521	112,000	12	0 $\frac{3}{4}$

The people above mentioned were brought to Georgia and supported at the expense of the trustees: those who came at their own expense and supported themselves, are not included, nor is the number of them known.

It appears from this calculation, that the poor people brought to Georgia by the trustees, cost them three hundred and thirty dollars each. Nine hundred and fifteen persons of the number above-mentioned, were British subjects, and six hundred and six were foreign protestants; and of the whole, six hundred and eighty-six, were men capable of bearing arms.

Ninety-four thousand pounds of the above amount, was appropriated by the British parliament, and the balance, raised by private contributions.

The answer of the trustees to the representation from the inhabitants of Savannah, the 9th of December 1738, for altering the tenure of their lands, and introducing negroes into the colony, was received in September, 1739.

“To the magistrates of the town of Savannah, in the province of Georgia.”

“The trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America, have received by the hands of Mr. Benjamin Ball, of London, merchant, an attested copy of a representation, signed by you the magistrates, and many of the inhabitants of Savannah, on the 9th of December last, for altering the tenure of the lands, and introducing negroes into the province, transmitted from thence by Mr. Robert Williams.

“The trustees are not surprised to find unwary people drawn in by crafty men, to join in a design of extorting by clamor from the trustees, an alteration of the fundamental laws, framed for the preservation of the people, from those very designs. But the trustees cannot but express their astonishment, that you the magistrates, appointed by them to be the guardians of the people, by putting those laws in execution, should so far forget your duty, as to put yourselves at the head of this attempt. However, they direct you to give the complainants this answer from the trustees, that they should deem themselves very unfit for the trust reposed in them by his majesty on their behalf, if they could be prevailed upon by such an irrational attempt, to give up a constitution, framed with the greatest caution, for the preservation of liberty and property; and of which the laws against the use of slaves and for the entail of lands, are the surest foundations.

“And the trustees are the more confirmed in their opinion of the unreasonableness of this demand, because they have received petitions, from Darien, and other parts of the province, representing the inconvenience and danger, which must arise to the good people of the province from the introduction of

negroes; and as the trustees themselves are fully convinced, that besides the hazard attending that introduction, it would destroy all industry among the white inhabitants; and that by giving them a power to alien their lands, the colony would soon be too much like its neighbors; void of white inhabitants, filled with blacks, and reduced to the precarious property of a few, equally exposed to domestic treachery, and foreign invasion; and therefore the trustees cannot be supposed to be in any disposition of granting this request; and if they have not before this signified their dislike of it, this delay is to be imputed to no other motives, but the hopes they had conceived, that time and experience would bring the complainants to a better mind: and the trustees readily join issue with them in their appeal to posterity, who shall judge between them, who were their best friends; those who endeavored to preserve for them a property in their lands, by tying up the hands of their unthrifty progenitors? or they who wanted a power to mortgage, or alien them? who were the best friends to the colony; those who with great labor and cost had endeavored to form a colony of his majesty's subjects, and persecuted protestants from other parts of Europe, had placed them on a fruitful soil, and strove to secure them in their possessions, by those acts which naturally tend to keep the colony full of useful and industrious people, capable both of cultivating and defending it? or those who, to gratify the greedy and ambitious views of a few negro merchants, would put it in their power to become sole owners of the province, by introducing their baneful commodity; which it is well known by sad experience, has brought the neighboring colony to the brink of ruin, by driving out their white inhabitants, who were their glory and strength, to make room for the blacks, who are now become the terror of their unadvised masters."

"Signed by order of the trustees, 20th of June, 1739.

BENJ. MARTYN, *Secretary.*"

This letter was accompanied by new commissions for magistrates: Thomas Christie, first; John Fallowfield, second;

and Thomas Jones, third bailiffs; and William Williamson, recorder. The inhabitants remarked that if they had not been sufficiently scourged before, this change in the executive authority would make their punishment complete. That Thomas Jones, surpassed Causton in all his bad qualities, without possessing any of his good ones, and that he might govern without control, Oglethorpe had thought proper to supersede the commissions of Christie and Williamson, and continued Henry Parker, as first magistrate, who would always support the interest of the store-keeper, Jones: therefore Fallowfield would be over-ruled, and all the powers of government would be vested in the other two; the people again complained to the trustees, but without effect.

William Stephens, Thomas Christie, and Thomas Jones, Esqrs. were appointed to examine Causton's accounts, but it is said they were never satisfactorily settled. Causton was removed for mal-practice in office.

Notwithstanding the determination of the trustees, entered into on the 20th of June, they again assembled on the 28th of August, 1739, and entered into the following resolutions, relating to the grants and tenure of lands in the colony of Georgia.

"Whereas the common council of the said trustees, assembled for that purpose in the name of the corporation of the said trustees, and under their common seal; have in pursuance of his majesty's most gracious letters patent, and in execution of the trust reposed in them, granted and conveyed divers portions of the lands, tenements and hereditaments, in the said letters patent mentioned to many of his majesty's loving subjects, natural born, and denizens, and others willing to become his subjects, and to live under allegiance to his majesty in the said colony, to hold to them respectively, and to the heirs male of their respective bodies, lawfully begotten, or to be begotten; under their several rents, reservations, conditions and provisions therein contained: and whereas it has been represented to the said trustees, that many of the persons to whom such

grants have been made, have no male issue of their respective bodies, and that an alteration in the grants and tenure of the said lands, upon failure of such issue, and likewise a known and certain provision for the widows of tenants in tail male, would not only encourage all such persons cheerfully, to go on with their several improvements, but also be an inducement and means of inviting divers other persons to resort to, and settle in the said colony, and greatly tend to the cultivation of the lands, the increase of the people, and the defence, strength and security of the said colony; which the said trustees most earnestly desire to promote as far as in them lies; it is therefore this day unanimously resolved by the common council of the said corporation, assembled for that purpose, that the grants of lands or tenements within the said colony heretofore made, and hereafter to be made by the said trustees, to any person or persons whatsoever, shall be altered, made and established in manner and form following; that is to say, that if a tenant in tail male of lands or tenements in the said colony, not having done or suffered any act, matter or thing, whereby his estate therein may be forfeited or determined, shall happen to die, leaving a widow and one or more child or children; that then and in such case, the widow of such tenant shall hold and enjoy the dwelling house and garden, (if any such there be) and one moiety of such land and tenements, for and during the term of her life; the said moiety to be set out and divided; and in case the parties interested therein, do not agree within the space of three months, by the magistrates of the town court in Georgia, nearest thereto, or any one of them—and in case such division be made by one of such magistrates only, then any person, or persons, finding him, her or themselves, aggrieved thereby, may within the space of three months, appeal to the other three magistrates of the said town court, whose determination thereof shall be final. And if such tenant shall happen to die, leaving only a widow, and no child or children, then that such widow shall hold and enjoy the said dwelling house,

garden and all such lands and tenements, for and during the term of her life.—And in case the widow of any such tenant, whether he die without issue by her or not, shall marry again after his decease, then such person to whom she shall be so married, shall within the space of twelve months after such marriage, give security to the said trustees, and their successors, whether personal or otherwise, agreeable to such instructions as shall be given by the common council of the said trustees, for maintaining and keeping in repair, during such marriage, the said dwelling house, garden and other premises, to which she shall be so entitled in right of her former husband: And if such security shall not be given in manner aforesaid, within the space of twelve months after such marriage, that then, and in such case, the provision hereby made, or intended to be made for the benefit of such widows, shall cease, determine and be absolutely void, to all intents and purposes; and the said dwelling house and garden, and all and singular the premises, shall be and enure to such child or children, or such other person or persons, who would be entitled to the same, in case the said widow was naturally dead.

“And if tenant in tail male of lands or tenements in the said colony, not having done or suffered any act, matter or thing, whereby his or her estate therein may be forfeited or determined, shall happen to die, leaving one or more daughter or daughters, and no male issue; then that such lands and tenements, if not exceeding eighty acres, shall be holden in tail male by any one of the daughters of such tenant; and if exceeding eighty acres, by any one or more of the daughters of such tenant in tail male, as such tenant shall by his or her last will and testament in writing, duly executed in the presence of three or more credible witnesses, direct and appoint; and in default of such direction and appointment then that such lands and tenements shall be holden in tail male by the eldest of such daughters; and in default of issue male and female, either born in the life time of such tenant in tail male, or within nine months after his de-

cease, then that such lands and tenements, if not exceeding eighty acres, shall be holden in tail male by any one such person; and if exceeding eighty acres, by any one or more such person or persons, as such tenant in tail male by his or her last will and testament in writing, executed as aforesaid, shall direct and appoint; and in default of such direction or appointment, then that such lands and tenements, shall be holden in tail male by the heirs at law of such tenant, subject nevertheless, in all and every of the said cases, to such right of the widow (if any) as aforesaid, provided that such daughter or daughters, and all and every such person or persons, so entitled to hold and enjoy such lands and tenements, do within the space of twelve months after the death of such tenant, personally appear, if residing in America, and claim the same in any of the town courts in Georgia; and if residing out of America, then within the space of eighteen months next after the death of such tenant: and provided also, that no such devise or appointment, shall be made by such tenant of lands exceeding eighty acres, in any lesser or smaller portion or parcel than fifty acres to any one daughter, or other person: and that no daughter or other person shall be capable of enjoying any devise, which may thereby increase his or her former possession of lands within the said colony, to more than five hundred acres; but such devise to be void, and the lands thereby given, to descend in such manner as if no such devise had been made. And in default of such appearance and claim, as aforesaid, that all and singular such lands and tenements shall be, and remain to the said trustees and their successors, for ever: Provided also, that all and every such estates hereby created or intended to be created, shall be subject and liable to the several rents, reservations, provisoes and conditions, as in the original grants thereof are particularly mentioned and contained; save and except so much thereof as is hereby altered, or intended to be altered, in case of failure of male issue, and the provision hereby made or intended to be made for widows.

“And that in every grant hereafter to be made by the said trustees or their successors, of any lands or tenements in the said colony, all and every grantee therein named, not doing or suffering any act, matter or thing whereby his or her estate therein may be forfeited or determined, shall have good right, full power, and lawful authority to give and devise the same by his or her last will and testament in writing, duly executed in the presence of three or more credible witnesses, in manner and form following, viz. Every grantee of lands not exceeding eighty acres, to any one son or any one daughter in tail male, and every grantee of lands exceeding eighty acres, the whole or any part thereof, but not in lesser lots or portions than fifty acres to any one devisee, to his or her son or sons, daughter or daughters in tail male; and in default of such devise as aforesaid, then that such lands and tenements shall descend to the eldest son in tail male; and in default of male issue, to the eldest daughter in tail male; and in default of issue male and female, then that such lands and tenements shall be holden in tail male, if not exceeding eighty acres, by any one such person, and if exceeding eighty acres, by any one or more such person or persons, but in any smaller lot or portion than fifty acres to any one person as such grantee shall by his or her last will and testament in writing, executed as aforesaid, direct and appoint; and in default of such direction or appointment, then that such lands and tenements shall be holden in tail male by the heir at law of such grantee; subject nevertheless to such right of the widow (if any) as aforesaid, provided always, that no son, daughter or other person, shall be capable of enjoying any devise which may thereby increase his or her former possession of land within the said colony, to more than five hundred acres, but such devise to be void and the lands thereby given, to descend in such manner as if no such devise had been made: Provided also, that such son or sons, daughter or daughters, and all and every such person or persons entitled to hold and enjoy any such lands and tenements, do within the space

of twelve months after the death of such grantee, of those under whom they claim, personally appear, if residing in America, and claim the same in any of the town courts in Georgia; and if residing out of America, then within the space of eighteen months next after such death; and in default of such appearance and claim as aforesaid, that all and singular the said lands and tenements shall be and remain to the said trustees, and their successors forever. And provided also, that all and every such estates shall be subject and liable to the like rents, reversions, provisos and conditions, as in the former grants of lands heretofore made, save and except so much thereof as is hereby altered, upon the failure of male issue.

“And it is hereby required, that public notice of these resolutions be forthwith given by the magistrates of the respective town courts in Georgia, and also by the secretary of the said trustees in London, that all and every the grantees of lands and tenements within the said colony, may enter their respective claims, either at the Georgia office, near old palace yard in Westminster, or in any of the town courts in Georgia, within the space of twelve months from the date hereof, to the end that they may receive the benefit hereby intended, and that proper grants and conveyances in the law may be forthwith prepared and executed for that purpose. And it is hereby expressly declared, that no fee or reward shall be taken for the entering of any such claim, directly or indirectly, by any person or persons whatsoever.

Signed by order of the said common council,

BENJAMIN MARTYN, Secretary.”

These resolutions were published by paragraphs in a *Charleston Gazette*, but as they were not well understood, Stephens was requested on a certain day, to read them entire at the court-house, and explain them as he went on—after he had finished this task, and exerted his utmost abilities in giving an explanation, one of the settlers, ludicrously remarked, that the whole

paper consisted of *males* and *tails*, and that all the lawyers in London would not be able to bring the meaning down to his comprehension; and that he understood as little of its meaning then, as he had when Stephens began—others wished to know how often those two words had occurred in the resolutions, that the number ought to be preserved as a curiosity; and that the author of it ought to be lodged in bedlam for lunacy.

In 1739, general Oglethorpe informed the trustees, that he had been advised through a variety of sources, that the Spaniards had been tampering with the Indians by every possible means, to bring them into a war against the British colonies, and suggested the necessity of his taking a journey into the nation, for the purpose of adopting measures to defeat a scheme, which would be so injurious to the settlement of Georgia: and that a general assembly of the nations which was soon to be held at the Coweta town, four hundred miles from Frederica, afforded a favorable opportunity for the accomplishment of his purposes; and the more effectually to destroy the seditious designs of the Spaniards, he should carry with him several pack-horse loads of goods to be distributed amongst the Indians as presents: accordingly, and in compliance with a promise he made the preceding year, he travelled through the nations as far as the Cowetas, where he conferred with the deputies of the Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws: he was received with the greatest hospitality and friendship, and after smoaking the pipe of peace, drinking sofkey, black-drink, and passing through the various ceremonies of their ancestors; they unitedly declared, that they remained firm in their former love to the king of Great-Britain and his subjects, and adhered to all the engagements of amity and commerce, entered into with the general as the representative of the trustees of Georgia. By this treaty* it was further declared that all the dominions, territories and lands between the Savannah and St. John's rivers, including all the islands; and from the St. John's river to the

* See appendix No. 3.

Apalachie bay, and thence to the mountains; do by ancient right belong to the Creek nation; and that they would not suffer either the Spaniards, or any other people, excepting the trustees of the colony of Georgia, to settle their lands. They also acknowledged the grant which they formerly had made to the trustees, of all the lands on Savannah river, as far as the river Ogechee, and all the lands along the sea coast as far as St. John's river, and as high as the tide flowed; and all the islands, particularly St. Simons, Cumberland and Amelia; and that they reserved to the Creek nation all the lands from Pipe-maker's bluff to Savannah, and the islands of St. Catharine, Ossabaw and Sapelo; and further declared, that the said lands were held by the Creek nation as tenants in common. Oglethorpe, as commissioner of George the second, declared that the English should not enlarge or take up any lands, excepting those granted as above mentioned, to the trustees, by the Creek nation, and covenanted that he would punish any person, who should intrude upon the lands, so reserved by that nation. This treaty was concluded on the 21st of August, 1739.

This judicious arrangement was well timed and proved advantageous to the public. It was just closed when he received an express from secretary Stephens, enclosing a letter from Col. Bull, lieutenant governor of South Carolina, with intelligence from lieutenant governor Clarke of New-York, stating that the French had marched from Mont-Real, with a body of two hundred regular troops, and five hundred Indians, who were to be reinforced by French and Indians on their route, and that this army was designed against the Indians in friendship with his Britannic majesty's subjects in South-Carolina and Georgia, who are situated near some branches of the Mississippi river. The general apprised the Indians of the danger with which they were threatened, and after mutual promises of perpetual friendship, he returned to Georgia.

While admiral Vernon was sent to take the command of a squadron on the West-India station, with orders to act offen-

sively against the Spanish dominions in that quarter, to divide their force, General Oglethorpe was ordered to annoy the subjects of Spain in Florida, by every method in his power: in consequence of which the General projected an expedition against the Spanish settlement at Augustine; this design he communicated to Governor Bull, requesting the support and assistance of Carolina in the expedition. Bull laid his letter before the provincial assembly, recommending to them to raise a regiment, and give him all possible assistance in an enterprise of such interesting consequence. The assembly, sensible of the great advantages that must accrue to them from getting rid of such troublesome neighbors, resolved, that so soon as the General should communicate to them his plan of operations, together with a statement of the assistance requisite, at the same time making it appear that there was a probability of success, they would most cheerfully assist him.

The Carolinians however, were apprehensive that as the garrison at Augustine had proved such a painful thorn in time of peace, they would have more to dread from it in time of war. The people nevertheless lent a favorable ear to the proposal, and earnestly wished the dislodgement of so malicious an enemy. General Oglethorpe was busily engaged in collecting all the intelligence he could, respecting the situation and strength of Augustine, and finding it was not well supplied with provisions, urged the execution of his project at the favorable moment, with a hope of surprising the enemy before a supply should arrive. He declared that no personal toil or danger should discourage him from exerting himself towards freeing Carolina from such neighbors, as had instigated their slaves to massacre them, and publicly protected them, after such bloody attempts. That measures might be concerted with the greatest secrecy and expedition, he went to Charleston in person, and laid before the legislature of Carolina, an estimate of the force, arms, ammunition and provisions, which he judged might be requisite for the expedition. The assembly voted

one hundred and twenty thousand pounds Carolina money for the expenses of the war—a regiment consisting of four hundred men was raised in Virginia and the Carolinas with the greatest expedition, and the command given to colonel Vanderdussen: Indians in alliance with the British colonies, were invited to join in the expedition. Vincent Price, commander of the ships of war on that station, agreed to assist with a naval force of four twenty gun ships and two sloops, which encouraged the Carolinians to be more vigorous in their military preparations. Gen. Oglethorpe appointed the mouth of St. John's river, for the place of rendezvous, and having finished his arrangements in Carolina, returned to Georgia, to put his regiment in readiness for the expedition. On the 9th of May, 1740, the general passed over to Florida, with four hundred select men of his own regiment, and a considerable party of Indians, and on the day following invested Diego, a small fort twenty-five miles from Augustine, which after a short resistance surrendered by capitulation. In this fort, he left a garrison of sixty men, under the command of lieutenant Dunbar, and returned to the place of general rendezvous, where he was joined by colonel Vanderdussen with the Carolina regiment, and a company of highlanders from Darien, commanded by captain M'Intosh. Before the Carolina troops arrived at St. Johns, six Spanish half galleys, with long brass nine pounders, and two sloops loaded with provisions, had got into the harbor at Augustine; this was a sore and unexpected stroke to the general's hopes: when the Carolina troops arrived, he marched with his whole force consisting of about two thousand regulars, provincials and Indians, to fort Moosa, situated within two miles of Augustine, which was evacuated on his approach, and the garrison retired into the town; he destroyed the gates, opened breaches into the fort-walls, and proceeded to reconnoitre the town and castle. Notwithstanding the despatch of his army, the Spaniards during his halt at fort Diego, had collected all the cattle from the neighboring woods and driven

them into the town; and the general found, from a view of the works, and the intelligence he received from prisoners, that there would be more difficulty attending this enterprize than he had at first expected: it is probable he might have been successful if he had not halted at Diego, but pressed all his force immediately against Augustine; for by the delay occasioned at that place, and the tardy movements of the Carolina troops, the enemy had notice of his approach, gathered in all their force, and put themselves in a posture for defence; besides the acquisition of the garrison of Moosa, which might probably have been cut off. The castle was a regular work, built of soft stone, with four bastions, the curtain sixty yards long, the parapet nine feet thick, the rampart twenty feet high, casements beneath for lodgings, arched over and newly made, bomb-proof: fifty pieces of cannon were mounted, several of which were twenty-four pounders: besides the castle, the town was entrenched with ten salient angles, mounted with small cannon. The garrison consisted of seven hundred regulars, two troops of horse, four companies of armed negroes, besides the militia of the province and Indians, with a considerable supply of provisions, and the command of a fine fishery. The general plainly perceived that an attack by land upon the town, and an attempt to take the castle by storm, would not only cost him a great deal of blood, but probably fail, therefore changed his plan of operations. With the assistance of the ships of war which were then lying at anchor off the bar, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade, and close every channel by which any additional stock of provisions could be conveyed to the garrison: for this purpose he left colonel Palmer with ninety-five highlanders and forty-two Indians at fort Moosa, with orders to scour the woods round the town, and intercept all supplies from the country by land; and for the safety of his men, ordered the encampment to be changed every night, to keep a strict watch, and by all means avoid coming to a general action. This small party composed the whole force left for guarding the land side; colonel Vanderdussen's

regiment was sent over a small creek to take possession of a neck of land called Point Quartel, about a mile from the castle, with orders to erect a battery upon it; while the general with his regiment and the greatest part of the Indians embarked in boats, and landed on the island of Anastatia; on this island there was a small party of troops stationed as a guard, who, on his approach fled to the town, and as it lay opposite to the castle, the general considered it a favorable position for bombarding the castle and town; captain Pierce stationed one of his ships to guard the passage, by way of the Matanzas, and with the others, blocked up the mouth of the harbour, so that the Spaniards were cut off from all supplies by sea. On the island of Anastatia, batteries were soon erected, and several cannon mounted by the assistance of the active and enterprising sailors: having made these dispositions, general Oglethorpe summoned the Spanish governor to a surrender, but the haughty Don, secure in his strong hold, replied, that he would be glad to shake hands with him in his castle.

The opportunity of surprising the place being lost, the general had no other secure method left but to attack it at the distance he then stood.—For this purpose he opened his batteries against the castle, and at the same time threw a number of shells into the town. The fire was returned with equal spirit from the Spanish fort and from the six half gallies in the harbor, but so great was the distance, that though they continued the cannonade for several days, little execution was done on either side. Captain Warren of the navy perceiving that all efforts in this way, for demolishing the castle were vain and ineffectual, proposed to destroy the Spanish gallies in the harbor, by an attack in the night, and offered to head the attempt himself: a council was held to consider of and concert a plan for that service; but upon sounding the bar, it was found that it would admit no large ship to the attack, and with small ones it was judged rash and impracticable, the gallies being covered by the cannon of the castle, and therefore the design was relin-

quished. In the mean time the Spanish governor observing the besiegers embarrassed, and their operations beginning to relax, sent out a detachment of three hundred men against col. Palmer, who surprised him at fort Moosa, while most of his party were asleep, and cut them almost entirely to pieces; captain M'Intosh was taken prisoner and suffered severe and cruel treatment: so inveterate were the Spaniards against every officer of courage and merit, who were zealous in support of the colony of Georgia, and so anxious that the English settlements should be removed, that the officers were closely confined, and the soldiers incarcerated in dungeons; captain M'Intosh was sent to old Spain where he remained a prisoner at Madrid for many months, and was finally exchanged and returned to Darien in Georgia. A few who accidentally escaped the massacre at fort Moosa, went over in a small boat to the Carolina regiment at Point Quartel. Some of the Chickesaw Indians coming from that fort, having met with a Spaniard, cut off his head, agreeably to their savage manner of waging war, and presented it to the general in his camp, as a trophy of valor; but he rejected it with abhorrence, calling them barbarous dogs and bidding them begone: at this disdainful behaviour, the Chickesaws were offended, declaring if they had carried the head of an Englishman to the French, they would not have treated them with contempt: perhaps on this occasion the general discovered more humanity than policy: the Indians soon after deserted him; about the same time the vessel stationed at the Matanzas being ordered off, some small vessels from the Havana with provisions, and a reinforcement of men got into Augustine, by that narrow channel, to the relief of the garrison. A party of the Creeks having surprised one of their small boats, brought four Spanish prisoners to the general, who informed him that the garrison had received seven hundred men, and a large supply of provisions; then all prospects of starving the enemy being lost, the army began to despair of forcing the place to surrender. The Carolina troops enfeebled by the heat, dispirited by sickness, and fatigued by fruitless

efforts, decamped in large bodies. The navy being short of provisions, and the usual season of hurricanes approaching, the commander judged it imprudent to hazard the ships any longer on the coast. Last of all, the general himself, sick of a fever, and his regiment worn out with fatigue and rendered unfit for action by a flux, with sorrow and regret returned to Frederica the 10th of July. Thus ended the unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, to the great disappointment of Carolina and Georgia, and the extreme mortification of the general. Many illiberal reflections were thrown out against Oglethorpe for his conduct during the whole enterprise; scarcely one of his measures escaped the animadversions of those who felt an interest in the success of the undertaking: every silly babbler pointed out a plan, which if pursued, must have been successful; when perhaps the truth was, that under all circumstances, there were but few generals, who could have conducted the enterprise with more skill, than Oglethorpe. Taking into view that he had only four hundred regular troops; that the remainder were undisciplined militia and Indians; that his enemy was secured by an impenetrable castle, finished in the highest order, well manned and provided; it only appears astonishing that he returned without a defeat, and the destruction of his army.

CHAPTER IV.

WHEN the general returned from Augustine, he was bitterly and cruelly attacked by newsmongers and pamphleteers, as will be seen by the dedication of a pamphlet printed in South-Carolina, of which the following is a copy: this pamphlet is probably from the pen of the "*Plain Dealer*."

"To his excellency James Oglethorpe, Esq. general and commander in chief of his majesty's forces in South-Carolina and Georgia, and one of the honorable trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, &c.

"May it please your Excellency,

"As the few surviving remains of the colony of Georgia, find it necessary to present the world, particularly Great-Britain, with a true state of the province, from its first rise to its present period; your excellency of all mankind, is best entitled to the dedication, as the principal author of its present strength and affluence, freedom and prosperity; and though incontestible truths will recommend the following narrative to the patient and attentive reader; yet your name sir, will be no little ornament to the frontispiece, and may possibly engage some courteous perusers a little beyond it. That dedication and flattery are synonymous, is the complaint of every dedicator, who concludes himself ingenious and fortunate, if he can discover a less trite and direct method of flattering than is usually practiced; but we are happily prevented from the least intention of this kind, by the repeated offerings of the muses and news-writers to your excellency in the public papers; it were presumptuous even to dream of equaling or increasing them: we therefore flatter ourselves, that nothing we can advance will in the least shock your excellency's modesty; nor nothing but your goodness will pardon any deficiency of elegance and politeness, on

account of your sincerity and the serious truths with which we have the honor to approach you.

“We have seen the ancient custom of sending forth colonies, for the improvement of any distant territory, or new acquisition, continued down to ourselves; but to your excellency alone it is owing, that the world is made acquainted with a plan, highly refined from those of former projectors. They fondly imagined it necessary to communicate to such young settlements, the fullest right and properties, all the immunities of their mother countries, and privileges rather more extensive: by such means indeed, these colonies flourished with early trade and affluence: but your excellency’s concern for our perpetual welfare, could never permit you to propose such transitory advantages for us: you considered riches like a divine and a philosopher, as the *irritamenta malorum*, and knew that they were disposed to inflate weak minds with pride, to pamper the body with luxury, and introduce a long variety of evils. Thus have you protected us from ourselves, as Mr. Waller says, by keeping all earthly comforts from us; you have afforded us the opportunity of arriving at the integrity of the primitive times, by entailing a more than primitive poverty upon us. The toil that is necessary to our bare subsistence, must effectually defend us from the anxieties of any further ambition: as we have no properties to feed vain glory and beget contention; so we are not puzzled with any system of laws, to ascertain and establish them: the valuable virtue of humanity is secured to us by your care to prevent our procuring, or so much as seeing any negroes, (the only human creature proper to improve our soil) lest our simplicity might mistake the poor Africans for greater slaves than ourselves: and that we might fully receive the spiritual benefit of those wholesome austerities, you have wisely denied us the use of those spirituous liquors, which might in the least divert our minds from the contemplation of our happy circumstances.

“Our subject swells upon us; and did we allow ourselves to indulge the inclination, without considering our weak abilities,

we should be tempted to launch out into many of your excellency's extraordinary endowments, which do not so much regard the affair on hand; but as this would lead us beyond the bounds of the dedication, so would it engross a subject too extensive for us, to the prejudice of other authors and panegyrists; we shall therefore confine ourselves to that remarkable scene of your conduct, whereby Great-Britain in general, and the settlers of Georgia in particular, are laid under such inexpressible obligations.

"Be pleased then, great sir, to accompany our heated imaginations, in taking a view of this colony of Georgia! this child of your auspicious politics! arrived at the utmost vigour of its constitution, at a term when most former states have been struggling through the convulsions of their infancy. This early maturity however, lessens our admiration, that your excellency lives to see (what few founders ever aspired after) the great decline and almost final termination of it. So many have finished their course during the progress of the experiment, and such numbers have retreated from the phantoms of poverty and slavery, which their cowardly imaginations pictured to them, that you may justly vaunt with the boldest hero of them all—

. Like Death you reign,
O'er silent subjects and a desert plain.

BUSIRIS.

"Yet must your enemies (if you have any) be reduced to confess, that no ordinary statesman could have digested in the like manner, so capacious a scheme, such a copious jumble of power and politics. We shall content ourselves with observing, that all those beauteous models of government, which the little states of Germany exercise, and those extensive liberties which the boors of Poland enjoy, were designed to concentrate in your system, and were we to regard the modes of government, we must have been strangely unlucky to have missed of the best, where there was the appearance of so great a variety; for under the influence of our perpetual dictator, we have seen something like aristocracy, oligarchy, as well as the triumvirate, decem-

virate, and consular authority of famous republics, which have expired many ages before us: what wonder then that we share the same fate! do their towns and villages exist but in story and rubbish? we are all over ruins; our public works, forts, wells, high-ways, light-houses, store, water-mills, &c. are dignified like theirs with the same venerable desolation. The log-houses indeed, are like to be the last forsaken spots of your empire; yet even these, though the death or desertion of those would continue to inhabit them, must suddenly decay; the bankrupt jailor himself shall be soon denied the privilege of human conversation; and when this last monument of the spell expires, the whole shall vanish like an illusion of some eastern magician.

“But let not this solitary prospect impress your excellency with any fears of having your services to mankind, and to the settlers of Georgia in particular, buried in oblivion; for if we diminutive authors, are allowed to prophesy, (as you know poets in those cases formerly did) we may confidently presage, that while the memoirs of America continue to be read in English, Spanish, or the language of the Scots highlanders, your excellency’s exploits and epocha, will be transmitted to posterity.

“Should your excellency apprehend the least tincture of flattery in any thing already hinted, we may sincerely assure you, we intend nothing that our sentiments did not very strictly attribute to your merits; and in such sentiments we have the satisfaction of being fortified by all persons of impartiality and discernment.

“But to trespass no longer on those minutes which your excellency may suppose more significantly employed on the sequel; let it suffice at present to assure you, that we are deeply affected with your favors; and though unable of ourselves, properly to acknowledge them, we shall embrace every opportunity of recommending you to higher powers, who (we are hopeful) will reward your excellency according to your merits.

May it please your excellency, &c.”

“The land-holders in Georgia.”

This dedication, compared with the pamphlet, was almost gentle in its censures, and but limped at the heels of the authors observations. The general was alternately charged with cowardice, despotism, cruelty and bribery. The pamphlet is filled with ill-natured invective, without any regard to good manners or common civility. The author was said to be a man of but little property and bad reputation, soured in his temper because he was not humored in an alteration of the constitution, or granted exclusive privileges to the subversion of the objects of the trustees in their plan of settling the new colony, before their experiment could be fully tried. It was stated that he departed from the colony to escape a trial, which was pending against him for seditious and rebellious practices, and that he had been turbulent and restless at an early period; that he was a man whose daily employment had been for some time, to misrepresent the public measures, to disperse scandal, and excite rebellion; that he had industriously propagated every murmur of discontent, and preserved every whisper of malevolence from perishing in the birth. His designs seem to have been chiefly directed to the obstruction of population in the colony, until the trustees should be forced by its dwindling into weakness and insignificance, to gratify the people's eagerness for spirituous liquors and slaves, and by these means to indulge to the extent of their wishes in idleness and dissipation. Oglethorpe may without flattery or falsehood, be justly termed the Romulus, father and founder of Georgia: without any views to his own interest, his efforts seem to have been directed to the enlargement of the dominions of his country, the propagation of the protestant religion and providing for the wants and necessities of the indigent: he had voluntarily banished himself from the pleasures of a court, and exposed himself to the dangers of a vast Atlantic ocean, in several perilous and tedious voyages. Instead of allowing himself the satisfaction which a plentiful fortune, powerful friends, and great merit entitled him to in England, he had inured himself to hardships and exposures in

common with the poor settlers; his food, boiled rice, mouldy bread, salt beef and pork; his bed the damp ground, and his covering the canopy of heaven. When his conduct in war was fairly tested, it corresponded with his integrity in other stations, public and private.

The reverend George Whitefield, who merits particular notice in the history of Georgia, arrived at Savannah in May, 1738. This celebrated field preacher, and founder of the sect of Calvinistic Methodists, was born in 1714, in Gloucester, England. At twelve years of age he was put to a grammar school, and at sixteen he was admitted servitor in Pembroke college, Oxford, where he distinguished himself by the austerities of his devotion. At the age of twenty-one, the fame of his piety recommended him so effectually to Dr. Benson, bishop of Gloucester, that he ordained him. Immediately after Mr. Whitefield's admission into the ministry, he applied himself with the most extraordinary and indefatigable zeal and industry to the duties of his character, preaching daily in the prisons, fields and open streets, wherever he thought there would be a likelihood of making religious impressions. Having at length made himself universally known in England, he applied to the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, for a grant of a tract of land near Savannah, with the benevolent intention of building an orphan house, which was designed as an asylum for poor children, who were to be clothed and fed by charitable contributions, and educated in the knowledge and practice of christianity. Actuated by the strongest motives for the propagation of religion, this itinerant several times crossed the Atlantic ocean to convert the Americans, whom he addressed in such manner as if they had been all equally strangers to the privileges and benefits of religion, with the aborigines of the forest: however, his zeal never led him beyond the maritime parts of America, through which he traveled, spreading the evangelical tenets of his faith amongst the most populous towns and villages. One would have imagined that the heathens would

have been the primary objects of his religious compassion; but this was not the case: wherever he went in America, as in Britain, he had multitudes of followers. When he first visited Charleston, Alexander Garden, a man of great erudition, who was an episcopal clergyman in that place, took occasion to point out to them the pernicious tendency of Whitefield's wild doctrines and irregular manner of life. He represented him as a religious imposter or quack, who had an excellent knack of setting off, disguising and rendering palatable his poisonous tenets: on the other hand, Mr. Whitefield, who had been accustomed to stand reproach and face opposition, recriminated with double acrimony and greater success: while Alexander Garden, to keep his flock from straying after this strange pastor, expatiated on these words of scripture; "those that have turned the world upside down are come hither also." Mr. Whitefield with all the force of comic humor and wit, for which he was so much distinguished; by way of reply enlarged upon these words; "Alexander the copper-smith hath done me much evil, the Lord reward him according to his works." The pulpit was perverted into the purposes of spite and malevolence, and their followers catching the infection, spoke of the clergymen as they were differently affected.

Mr. Whitefield commenced the building of his orphan house in Georgia, in 1740, on a sandy bluff, near the sea shore, on a tract of land granted to him for the purpose by the trustees; the house was built of wood seventy feet by forty. To this house poor children were sent, to be supported partly by charity, and partly by the products of the land cultivated by negroes.

Mr. Whitefield calculated on the healthiness of the place, from its similarity of situation to that of Frederica: having formed the project, he determined to persevere, and prided himself in surmounting every obstacle and difficulty: he travelled through the British empire, making impressions of the excellence of his design, and obtained from charitable people, money, clothes, and books, to forward his undertaking and sup-

ply his poor orphans in Georgia. The house was finished and furnished with an excellent library, but the institution never flourished to the extent of his expectations and wishes, though a great sum of money was expended in bringing it to maturity, owing most probably to the unhealthiness of the situation. The number of children educated at it are not known, but the general opinion is, that it did not produce many ornaments for the pulpit. About thirty years after the house was finished, it was burned; some say it was occasioned by a foul chimney, and others by a flash of lightning; but whatever was the cause, it burned with such violence that little of either furniture or library, escaped the devouring flames. Happy was it for the zealous founder of this institution, that he did not survive the ruins of a fabric on which his heart was fixed, and to the completion of which, he had devoted so much time and labor.

The talents of Mr. Whitefield were extraordinary, and beyond any opinion which can be entertained of an itinerant preacher. His influence and weight at that day, certainly made him one of the most useful men in America. He had many friends and admirers amongst the men of the first influence and respectability, and followers from all classes; he was so popular in preaching, that his churches or places of religious resort, were crowded some time before he appeared, and that to a degree unknown since the apostolic times, or the days of the anabaptists in Germany. It was observed by some of those who attended his service, that when he preached in a church, a line was extended outwards, there being no room to go in; and at the door, pious persons were soliciting for leave "only to see his blessed face," though they could hear him.—Such was the respect, enthusiasm and regard he had inspired, to those devoted to religion, owing to his sincerity, faith, zeal, truly great and extraordinary talents. It is related of the accomplished and celebrated lord Chesterfield, that he observed, "Mr. Whitefield is the greatest orator I have ever heard, and I cannot conceive of a "greater." His writings are said to give no idea of his

oratorical powers: his person, his delivery, his boldness, his zeal and sincere pursuit in the propagation of the gospel of his Lord and Master, made him a truly wonderful man in the pulpit, whilst his printed sermons give but a skeleton of the equal of many men who have served religion, since the days of the primitive christians. It is not an easy task to delineate his character, without an uncommon mixture, and a vast variety of colours. He was in the British empire, not unlike one of those strange and erratic meteors which appear now and then in the system of nature. He often lamented that in his youth he was gay and giddy; so fondly attached to the stage, that he frequently recited difficult pieces while he was at school, with such great applause, that Garrick observed, the stage had lost an ornament. Then he probably acquired those gestures, added to his powers of eloquence, which he practiced under his clerical robes with great success and advantage upon the feelings of his hearers.

After receiving his ordination in the church of England, he refused submission to the regulations either of that or any other particular church, but became a preacher in churches, meeting-houses, halls, fields, in all places and to all denominations, without exception. Though he was not distinguished for his learning, he possessed a lively imagination, much humor, and had acquired a great knowledge of human nature, and the manners of the world. He possessed a great share of humanity and benevolence, but frequently displayed an excessive warmth of temper when roused by opposition and contradiction. His reading was inconsiderable, but he had an extraordinary memory, and mankind being one of the great objects of his study, he could, when he pleased, raise the passions and call forth the tones of the human heart with admirable skill and fervor. By his affecting eloquence and address, he impressed on the minds of many, especially of the more soft and delicate sex, such a strong sense of sin and guilt, as often plunged them into dejection and despair. As his custom was to frequent those large

cities and towns which are commonly best supplied with the means of instruction, it would to some appear, that the love of fame and popular applause was one of his leading passions; but he always discovered a warm zeal for the honor of God and the happiness of mankind. Whilst he was almost worshipped by the lower order, men of superior rank and erudition, found him the polite gentleman, and the facetious and jocular companion. Though he loved good cheer, and frequented the houses of the rich and hospitable, yet he was an enemy to all manner of excess and intemperance. While his disposition to travel led him from place to place, his natural discernment enabled him to form correct opinions of the characters and manners of men, where ever he went. Though he gave a preference to no particular established church, yet good policy winked at all his eccentricities, as he every where supported the character of a steady friend to civil government. He had a great talent for exciting the curiosity of the multitude, and his roving manner stamped a kind of novelty on his instructions. When exposed to the taunts of the irreligious scoffer, and the ridicule of the flagitious, he remained firm to his purpose, and could retort those weapons with astonishing ease and dexterity, and render vice abashed under the lash of his satire and wit. To habitual sinners his address was generally applicable and powerful, and with equal ease could alarm the secure and confirm the unsteady.—Though in prayer he commonly addressed the second person of the Trinity in a familiar style, and in his sermons was eccentric in his composition, and expatiated on the occurrences of his own life; yet these seemed only shades to set off to greater advantage the lustre of his good qualities. In short, though he was said to have had many oddities, yet few will undertake to deny that religion in America, was greatly indebted to the zeal, diligence, and oratory of this extraordinary man. After a long course of peregrination, his fortune increased as his fame extended among his followers, and he erected two very extensive buildings for public worship in

England, under the name of tabernacles; one in Tottenham court road, and the other at Moorfields; where by the help of some assistants, he continued several years, attended by very crowded congregations. By being chaplain to the countess Dowager of Huntingdon, he was also connected with two other religious meetings, one at Bath and the other at Tunbridge, chiefly erected under that virtuous lady's patronage. By a lively, fertile and penetrating genius, by the most unwearied zeal, and by a forcible and persuasive delivery, he never failed of the desired effect upon his crowded and admiring audiences. In America, which had engaged much of his attention, he was destined to close his eyes. He died at Newbury-Port, thirty miles from Boston, in 1770. When the report of his decease reached the legislature of Georgia, honorable mention was made of him, and a sum of money appropriated with a unanimous voice for bringing his remains to Georgia, to be interred at his orphan house; but the inhabitants at Newbury-Port being much attached to him when living, objected to the removal of his body, and the design was relinquished.

In a letter from Dr. Franklin to Dr. Jones, mentioning Mr. Whitefield, he says "I cannot forbear expressing the pleasure it gives me, to see an account of the respect paid to his memory by your assembly: I knew him intimately upwards of thirty years; his integrity, disinterestedness and indefatigable zeal, in prosecuting every good work, *I have never seen equalled, I shall never see excelled.*" In delineating the character of this amiable man, I have dwelt with enthusiastic delight, because the tenor of his whole life corresponded with the principles he professed.

The orphan house was built under the direction of Mr. James Habersham, who had the entire management of the funds, and appears to have taken a warm interest in the success of Mr. Whitefield's laudable institution. When the house was put in a condition for the reception of orphan children, Mr. Habersham was appointed president, and was furnished with the

necessary teachers, servants, books, and other necessities for the use of the school and the cultivation of the land. In a letter from this gentleman to Governor Belcher of Massachusetts, he says, "surely the Lord intends to bring forth much good out of this establishment: the lands produced a better crop this year, than we had a right to expect, and indeed God seems pleased to smile upon all our efforts by the appearance of their prosperity: our family now consists of eighty-four persons, men, women and children, besides nineteen servants, and five in the infirmary: the latter have a doctor and a nurse to attend them. I have now fifty-eight children under my care, who are orphans and objects of charity; nineteen of them are from Carolina, and the remainder of this province: surely God has many blessings in store for our reverend friend Mr. Whitefield."

In Mr. Habersham's letters, he frequently complains of the exercise of arbitrary power, by the justices who presided over the civil affairs of the province. He says that in many instances, students who promised to be ornaments to society, were withdrawn from school in the midst of an unfinished branch of education, and bound out as servants; that on these occasions he was never consulted, and that his remonstrances were treated with contempt: that he several times addressed general Oglethorpe upon the same subject, but he refused to restrain the powers exercised by the magistrates. In one of his letters to the general, he says, "you have laid me under great obligations to your excellency, by requesting an undisguised disclosure of my sentiments respecting the general regulations and arrangements of the province; I shall give it to you with that candour which becomes an honest man.

"I wish your excellency's plans of industry could be put in practice, but I do not think them practicable by the people who now inhabit this colony; a skilful industrious tenant would easily clear his rent, and provide a comfortable subsistence for himself and family; but unfortunately, there is too much of the

genteel spirit prevailing amongst the inhabitants of the province, to hope for a prospect so desirable." He acknowledges his ignorance of farming, and states generally, the difficulties which will prevail in the cultivation of rice without some negroes, and the assistance of machinery to prepare it for market. He gives a correct view of the poverty of the pine land, laid off for the poor people indiscriminately, and the tenures on which they are allowed to hold their land; he makes some observations on the weak heads and corrupt hearts of the magistrates, as well as the profligate, licentious conduct of the people generally about Savannah, who he considered as useless in Georgia, as they had been in England; that two of the magistrates had encouraged a settlement of papists in the neighborhood of the Orphan-house, whose tenets and conduct had become injurious and offensive to the institution; that after an experiment of nine years, to the loss of many hundreds of poor souls, he thought it was time that the chimerical scheme of settlement by the trustees should be relinquished or altered; that the general had been surrounded by a parcel of parasites who had only flattered and deceived him. "I once thought it was unlawful and unjust to keep slaves, but am now inclined to think, God may have a higher end in permitting them to be brought into a christian country, than merely to support their masters. Many of the poor slaves in America have already been made free-men of the heavenly Jerusalem, and possibly a time may come, when many thousands may embrace the gospel, and thereby be brought into the glorious liberty of the children of God." He mentions many other considerations in justification of a limited use of negroes in a colony, which is incapable of advantageous cultivation without them: he closes this letter by respectfully assuring the general, of the candor of its contents in conformity with his request.

Frederica was settled by general Oglethorpe in February, 1736, on the island of St. Simons, south of the Alatamaha, and on the west side of that island about the centre. It stands upon

a high bluff, compared with the marshes in its front: the shore is washed by a fine river which communicates with the Alata-maha, and enters the ocean through Jekyl sound, at the south end of the island. It forms a bay before the town, and is navigable for vessels of large burthen. The town was defended by a pretty strong fort of tappy, and several eighteen pounders were mounted on a ravelin in front, which commanded the river. The fort was surrounded with regular ramparts, had four bastions of earth, stockaded and turfed, and a palisaded ditch which included the store-houses: two large and spacious buildings of brick and timber, with several pieces of ordnance mounted on the rampart: the town was also surrounded by a rampart, with flankers of the same thickness with that round the fort, in form of a pentagon, and a dry ditch. The whole circumference of the town was about one mile and a half, including the camp for general Oglethorpe's regiment at the north side of the town; the parades on the east, and a small wood to the south, which was left for the conveniency of fuel and pasturage, and served as a blind to the enemy in case of an attack from shipping coming up the river. The town had two gates called the town and water posts; next to the latter was the guard-house, under which was a prison, handsomely built of brick: at the north end the barracks were built of tappy, and near them the magaine: a road was opened to the southward to the plantations of captain Demere, Mr. Hawkins, and general Oglethorpe: the latter at a little distance resembled a neat little country village; farther on were several families of Saltz-burghers. Bachelors redoubt was on the main, where was kept a look out of rangers; a corporal's guard was kept at Pike's bluff on the north, and a canal was cut through the general's island, to facilitate the communication with Darien. Frederica was laid out with spacious streets, named after the officers and margined with orange trees. The civil government, as in other parts of the province, was administered by three magistrates or justices, assisted by a recorder, constables and tything-

men. At the south point of the island, was a little town called St. Simons; near it a small battery was built as a watch-tower to discover vessels at sea, and upon such discovery an alarm gun was fired, and a horse-man sent with notice to head-quarters, about nine miles distant. In case an enemy appeared, the number of guns fired, gave notice of the number of vessels. A work was also built on the north end of Jekyl island, where a brewery was established to make beer for the troops: on the north end or high point of Cumberland island, a small battery was erected to protect the inland navigation, as well as St. Andrew's sound; at the south end was a work of considerable regularity and strength, called fort William, commanding the entrance to St. Mary's. Fort George was built at the mouth of St. John's river, near Oglethorpe's hill. The garrison was withdrawn in conformity with one of the stipulations in the treaty of September, 1736. A stronger proof cannot be given of general Oglethorpe's indefatigable zeal and industry, than that all these fortifications were erected in seven months.

The settlement on St. Simons island being on the frontier, as well as the one at Darien on the Alatomaha, afforded abundant scope for the exercise of a warlike temper; and having received a severe blow from the garrison at Augustine, the highlanders anxiously waited for an opportunity of revenging the massacre of their beloved friends at fort Moosa; and the time was approaching to give them what they desired. Though the territory granted by the second charter to the proprietors of Carolina extended far to the south of the river Alatomaha, the Spaniards had never relinquished their pretended claim to that part of the province of Georgia. The Spanish ambassador at the British court, had declared that his catholic majesty had as good a claim to the territory in question, as he had to Madrid, and that he would as soon think of surrendering the one as the other, to Great-Britain. The squadron commanded by Admiral Vernon, had for some time occupied so much of their attention in the West-Indies, that none of the Spanish fleet could be

spared to maintain their supposed right: but no sooner had the greatest part of the British fleet left those seas and returned to England, than the Spaniards turned their attention to Georgia, and commenced preparations for dislodging the English settlers in that province. Finding that threats and menaces could not terrify Oglethorpe into compliance with their demands, they determined to try the force of arms. They were aware that the general had made himself unpopular in South-Carolina by the failure of his attack upon St. Augustine, and of the disgust entertained by the settlers of Georgia, against the plan of the trustees government, from which they had formed an antipathy to his person; and determined to take advantage of such a favorable moment to destroy his little army and settlement. Accordingly an armament was prepared at Havana to be sent against him to expel him by force of arms from their frontiers: with this view two thousand troops commanded by Don Antonio de Rodondo, embarked at Havanna, and arrived about the first of May, at St. Augustine: but before this formidable fleet and armament had reached their destination, they were discovered by captain Haymer of the Flamborough man of war, who was cruising on that coast; and advice was immediately sent to general Oglethorpe of their arrival in Florida.

The general had now a fair opportunity of testing his military talents; such an army as this, reinforced by the troops at Augustine, was sufficient to make Georgia tremble: Oglethorpe sent intelligence to governor Glen of South-Carolina, both by land and water, requesting his military assistance with all possible expedition, and at the same time he despatched a sloop to the West-Indies to acquaint admiral Vernon with the expected invasion.

By this time, Carolina had found great advantage from the settlement of Georgia, which had proved an excellent barrier to that province against the incursions of the Spaniards and the Indians, under their control. The southern parts being rendered secure by Oglethorpe's regiment in Georgia, the lands

south-west of Port-Royal became in great demand, and had risen to four times their former value: though the Carolinians were equally interested with their neighbors in the defence of Georgia, having little confidence in the general's military abilities, since his unsuccessful expedition against Augustine, the planters were seized with a panic, especially those on the southern parts of the province, deserted their plantations and fled to Charleston with their families and effects: the inhabitants of Charleston, many of whom were prejudiced against Oglethorpe, declared against sending him any assistance, and determined to fortify their town and defend themselves upon their own ground, and left Oglethorpe to stand or fall against a superior force. In such an emergency, policy evidently required the firmest union and the utmost exertion of the combined force of the colonies. If Oglethorpe had been overpowered and crushed, the reduction of Georgia would have opened to the enemy, an easy access into the bowels of Carolina, and offered both provinces a divided prey to the Spaniards. In the mean time general Oglethorpe was making every possible preparation at Frederica, to give a warm reception to the Spanish Don, at the head of a formidable force. Messages were sent by the general, to his faithful Indian allies, who gathered to his assistance in the hour of danger. Captain McIntosh's company of highlanders, joined him on the first notice from Darien, and evidenced their anxiety of retorting Spanish vengeance upon their own heads. With his regiment, a few rangers, highlanders and Indians, the general fixed his head quarters at Frederica, not allowing himself to doubt of a reinforcement from Carolina and expecting their arrival every hour; but determined in case of attack before the reinforcement arrived, that the Spaniards should purchase the province at the expense of many of their lives.

On the 21st of June, nine sail of Spanish vessels came into Amelia sound; but the eighteen pounders from fort William, commanded by ensign Alexander Stuart, and the guard

schooner with eighty men, commanded by captain Dunbar, gave them such a warm reception, as to keep them at a respectable distance. When the general was advised of this attack, he resolved to support the fortifications on Cumberland, and set out with a detachment on board of his boats; sent captain Horton with his company of grenadiers in front, and was himself obliged to fight his way in two boats, through fourteen sail of Spanish vessels, which endeavored to intercept him in St. Andrews sound. Lieutenant Tolson, who commanded the boat of the greatest strength, instead of following the general, ran into a marsh, where he remained until next morning: when this officer returned to Frederica, he was arrested, tried and found guilty of cowardice. Major Heron from the shore, seeing the general surrounded by the enemy, and obscured by smoke, was alarmed for his fate; but next day to the great joy of the garrison, he returned in the guard schooner to St. Simons. After having withdrawn the troops from St. Andrews, and reinforced fort William, he ordered his detachments from Jekyl and the main, and sent another express to the governor of Carolina, by Mr. Mulryne, informing him of his situation and urging the necessity of a reinforcement.

On the 28th of June, the Spanish fleet amounting to thirty-six sail, and carrying upwards of five thousand men, including seamen and marines, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano, came to anchor off St. Simons' bar, where they remained until the 5th of July, sounding the channel; and after finding a depth of water sufficient to admit the ships, came in on the flood tide: they were received with a brisk fire from the batteries and the vessels. One of the Spanish ships of twenty-two guns, and a galley with an eighteen and two nine pounders, attempted to board captain Thompson's ship; but with the assistance of captain Carr's marines, lieutenant Wall's and ensign Otterbridge's infantry made such a brave defence, that the Spaniards were obliged to retire with considerable loss. A snow of sixteen guns at the same time attempted to

board the guard schooner, but was also repulsed by captain Dunbar. This engagement lasted upwards of three hours; the enemy lost seventeen killed and ten wounded. The fleet anchored about a mile above Oglethorpe's works at the south end of the island, hoisted a red flag at the mizen topmast-head of the largest ship, landed their forces upon the island, and erected a battery, on which twenty eighteen pounders were mounted. Amongst their land forces they had a fine regiment of artillery, under the command of Don Antonio De Rodondo, and a regiment of negroes. The negro commanders were clothed in lace, bore the same rank with the white officers, and with equal freedom and familiarity, walked and conversed with the commander in chief. Such an example might have justly alarmed the Carolinians.

When general Oglethorpe found that his battery at St. Simons had become useless, and his situation hazardous, he spiked up his guns, burst the bombs and grendoes, destroyed his stores, and retired to his head-quarters at Frederica—so great was the force of the enemy, that he plainly perceived that nothing remained for him to achieve with his handful of men; he therefore resolved to use his utmost vigilance, and to act only on the defensive. He kept scouting parties in every direction to watch the motions of the enemy, while his main body were employed in working at the fortifications, making them as strong as circumstances would admit. Day and night he kept his Indian allies ranging through the woods to harass the out posts of the enemy. The general's scouting parties brought in five Spanish prisoners, who informed him of their number and force, and that the governor of Augustine was commander in chief of the expedition. The general still expecting a reinforcement from Carolina, used all his address in planning measures for gaining time and preventing the troops from being discouraged; for this purpose he sent out the highland company also to assist the Indians, and obstruct as much as possible the approach of the enemy, until he should receive assistance from Carolina.

His provisions for the garrison were neither good nor plentiful, and his great distance from any settlements, together with the enemy keeping the command of the river, left him without a prospect of getting a supply: he carefully concealed these discouraging circumstances from his little army, which did not amount to more than seven hundred men. To animate them with a spirit of perseverance, he exposed himself to the same hardships and fatigues with the common soldiers; and in the worst of events, could have secured the retreat of a considerable portion of his garrison through Alligator Creek, and his cut through Generals island. In the mean time the Spaniards had made several attempts to pierce through the woods, with a view to attack the fort, but met with such opposition from the deep morasses and dark thickets, defended by the Indians and highlanders, that every effort failed with considerable loss. Don Manuel de Monteano, had no other prospect left, and these difficulties must either be surmounted or the design relinquished: for this purpose parties were kept in motion to explore the thickets, and to take possession of advantageous posts.

On the 7th of July, about nine o'clock in the morning, a ranger from the patrol, brought information to the general, that a body of the enemy had approached within two miles of Frederica. He ordered four platoons of the regiment immediately to follow him, and marched with some rangers, highlanders and Indians, who were then under arms, and attacked the enemy about a mile from the fort, as they were entering a savanna, to take possession of a ditch which they intended to use as an intrenchment. The general attacked them with such vigor, that they were soon defeated, and one hundred and twenty-nine killed and taken prisoners: the general took two prisoners with his own hand. Lieut. Scroggs, of the rangers, took capt. Sachio prisoner, who commanded the party. Tooanohowi* an Indian chief, was shot in the right arm by captain

* Tooanohowi was the nephew of Tomochichi, and with him accompanied General Oglethorpe to England, in 1734.

Mageleto; he drew his pistol with the left and shot the captain dead upon the spot. The general pursued the enemy two miles, and halted upon an advantageous piece of ground, until a reinforcement came up. He posted them with the highlanders, in a wood, with a large savanna in front, over which the Spaniards must pass on their way to Frederica. He hastened to the fort and ordered an additional force to be in readiness, in case of necessity. By the time this arrangement was made, three hundred of the enemy's best troops attacked the party he had left. He hastened to their relief and met three platoons, who in the smoke and drizzling rain, had retreated in disorder, and the fire continuing, he ordered these platoons to rally and follow him, and rushed on with his party to the assistance of the other platoon and the highlanders, who continued the conflict: when he arrived he found that lieutenants Sutherland and Mackay, had entirely defeated the enemy. In this action Don Antonio de Barba, was mortally wounded, and several of the enemy were killed and taken. Captain Demere and ensign Gibbon, rallied their platoons, and came up to the ground. Captain Carr and his company of marines, and lieutenant Cadogan, with a party of the regiment, came up at the same time, and were followed by Major Heron, with another body of the regiment. In these two actions the enemy lost two captains, one lieutenant, two sergeants, two drummers and one hundred and sixty private soldiers; and one captain and nineteen privates, were taken prisoners.

The next morning he returned to Frederica, and as an encouragement and stimulus to bravery, lieutenants Primrose, Maxwell and Mackay, were appointed his aids-de-camp; lieutenant Sutherland brigade major, and sergeant Stuart, ensign. On the 12th, one of the English prisoners escaped from the Spaniards, who reported, that on calling the rolls of the enemy, they had lost two hundred and forty men, and nineteen Indians. The Spanish commander, finding he could make no advantageous impression on the fort in this way, changed his plan of

operations, and keeping his troops under cover of his cannon, proceeded with his gallies up the river with the tide, to reconnoitre the fort, and draw the general's attention to another quarter. The general fixed on an advantageous spot, and sent a party of Indians, with orders to lie in ambuscade in the woods and grass, and endeavor to prevent their landing, which succeeded. About the same time, another English prisoner escaped from the Spanish camp, and brought advice to general Oglethorpe, of a difference subsisting in it, between the troops from Cuba, and those from Augustine; and that in consequence of this misunderstanding, they encamped in separate places. The general thought this afforded him a favorable opportunity of taking an advantage of the enemy, and he resolved to attempt a surprise upon one of the encampments. With the advantage of his knowledge of the woods, he marched out in the night with three hundred regular troops, the highland company, rangers and Indians. Having advanced within two miles of the enemy's camp he halted, and went forward with a small party to take a view of their posture: but while he wished above all other considerations to conceal his approach, a Frenchman from his party, fired his musket, run off to the enemy and gave the alarm: Oglethorpe finding his design defeated by this traitor, thought it prudent to retreat to Frederica. Apprehensive that the deserter would discover his weakness to the enemy, he resorted to the operations of his genius, to devise a plan by which he might destroy the credibility of the deserter's information. For this purpose he wrote a letter, and addressed it to the traitor, in which he desired him to acquaint the Spaniards of the defenceless state of Frederica, and how easy and practicable it would be to cut him and his small garrison to pieces. He requested him to use every art in urging them forward to an attack, and to assure them of success; but if he could not prevail with them to make that attempt, to use every influential argument to detain them two or three days longer upon the island, for within that time, according to advice he had received

from Carolina, he should receive a reinforcement of two thousand land forces, and six British ships of war, with which he felt assured he would be able to give a good account of the Spanish invaders; and closed his letter with the strictest cautions against his subjecting himself to suspicion, reminding him of the great reward he was to receive from his king, in the event of success attending the plan; and urging the necessity of profound silence respecting Admiral Vernon's intentions against Augustine. This letter was given by Oglethorpe, to one of the Spanish prisoners, who for the sake of liberty and a small reward, promised to deliver it to the French deserter, privately, and conceal the circumstance from the knowledge of any other person; observing that the Frenchman was not a deserter, but a spy upon the Spanish camp. With these injunctions, the Spanish soldier was liberated, and as Oglethorpe wished and expected, the letter was delivered to the Spanish commander in chief. The conjectures and speculations, occasioned by this letter, were various; and the Spanish commandant was not a little perplexed to know what inference he ought to draw from it. In the first place, he ordered the supposed spy to be put in irons to prevent his escape, and then called a council of war to consider what was most proper to be done, in consequence of intelligence so puzzling and alarming. Some officers were of opinion, that the letter was intended as a deception to prevent them from attacking Frederica; others thought that the circumstances mentioned in it, wore such an appearance of truth, that there were good grounds to believe that the English general wished them to take place, and therefore gave their voice for consulting the safety of Augustine, and relinquishing a plan of conquest attended with so many difficulties, and putting to hazard the loss of both army and fleet, and perhaps the whole province of East Florida. While the Spanish officers were employed in these embarrassing deliberations, fortunately three vessels of small force, which the governor of Carolina had sent out to watch the motions of the enemy, appeared at some

distance on the coast.—This corresponding with part of Oglethorpe's letter, induced the Spanish commander to give credit to its entire contents. It was therefore determined, to attack Oglethorpe at his strong hold at Frederica, before the expected reinforcement should arrive; and accordingly the whole Spanish army was put in motion. Captain Noble Jones, with a detachment of regulars and Indians, being out on a scouting party, fell in with a small detachment in the enemy's advance, who were surprised and made prisoners, not deeming themselves so far in front of the main army. From these prisoners information was received, that the whole Spanish army was advancing: this was immediately communicated by an Indian runner to the general, who detached captain Dunbar with a company of grenadiers, to join the regulars and Indians, with orders to harass the enemy on their advance. These detachments having formed a junction, observed at a distance the Spanish army on the march; and taking a favorable position near a marsh, formed an ambuscade. The enemy fortunately halted within a hundred paces of this position, stacked their arms, made fires, and were preparing their kettles for cooking, when a horse observed some of the party in ambuscade, and frightened at the uniform of the regulars, began to snort, and gave the alarm. The Spaniards ran to their arms, but were shot down in great numbers by Oglethorpe's detachment, who continued invisible to the enemy; and after repeated attempts to form, in which some of their principal officers fell, they fled with the utmost precipitation, leaving their camp equipage on the field, and never halted until they had got under cover of the guns of their battery and ships. General Oglethorpe had detached major Horton with a reinforcement, who arrived only in time to join in the pursuit. So complete was the surprise of the enemy, that many fled without their arms; others in a rapid retreat, discharged their muskets over their shoulders at their pursuers; and many were killed by the loaded arms which were left on the ground: generally the Spaniards fired so much

at random that the trees were pruned by the balls from their muskets: their loss in killed, wounded and prisoners, was estimated at five hundred. The loss in Oglethorpe's detachment was very inconsiderable. From the signal victory obtained over the enemy, and the great slaughter amongst the Spanish troops, the scene of action just described, has ever since been denominated the *bloody marsh*. On the 14th, the Spaniards burned all the works and houses on the south end of St. Simons and Jekyl Islands. On the 15th, all the large vessels with the Cuba forces on board, sailed to the southward, and the governor and troops from St. Augustine embarked in the small craft, and went by the inland passage, and encamped on the north end of Cumberland, at fort St. Andrews. On the 16th, the general pursued the enemy by the inland passage and landed where they had encamped, and sent an express in the night to ensign Stuart, who commanded at fort William, directing him in case of an attack, to defend it to the last extremity, and that he would reinforce him early the next day. At day-light twenty eight sail of the Spanish line appeared off fort William, fourteen of which came into the harbor, and demanded a surrender of the garrison: Stuart replied that it should not be surrendered, nor could it be taken: they attacked the works from their gallies and other vessels, and attempted to land, but were repulsed by a small party of rangers who had arrived by a forced march down the island. Stuart with only sixty men, defended the fort with such bravery, that after an assault of three hours, the enemy discovered the approach of Oglethorpe, and put to sea with considerable loss: two gallies were disabled and abandoned, and the governor of Augustine proceeded with his troops by the inland passage: ensign Stuart was rewarded by promotion, for the bravery of his defence.

Thus was the province of Georgia delivered, when brought to the very brink of destruction, by a formidable enemy. Don Manuel de Monteano, had been fifteen days on the small island of St. Simons, without gaining the least advantage over a hand-

ful of men; and in the several skirmishes, had lost a considerable number of his best troops; while Oglethorpe's loss was very inconsiderable. In this resolute defence of the provinces, Oglethorpe displayed great military skill and personal bravery, and justly merited the encomiums of Carolina as well as Georgia. It is more than probable that the Spaniards had Carolina chiefly in view, and had meditated a conquest where rich plunder could have been obtained, and where by an accession of slaves, they might have increased their force in the same ratio with their progress. The Carolinians made a poor figure in defence of their country: when union, activity, and military exertions were so requisite, they ingloriously stood aloof, and suffered private pique to prevail over public utility, and seemed determined to risk the safety of their country, rather than that general Oglethorpe, by their assistance, should gain the smallest degree of honor and reputation. They at length sent some ships, but coming so late, they proved useful rather from the fortunate cooperation of an incidental stratagem, than from the zeal and public spirit of the colony. The Georgians, with justice reproached their more powerful neighbors, who, by keeping at a distance in the hour of danger, hazarded the safety of both provinces. Had the enemy pursued their operations with vigor and courage, the province of Georgia must have fallen a prey to the invaders, and Carolina had every thing to dread from such a conquest. Instead of raising or exaggerating this success, to do honor to the general's character, we ought rather to lessen or abridge some of its circumstances, to render it in such an age as that, more credible; but having attempted no embellishments, the facts are represented step by step, and the reader is left to judge whether he did not gather laurels, which he well deserved to wear.

The province of Carolina justified her conduct, by acknowledgements made to the governor, not only for his zeal and diligence in putting Charleston and the province, in the best posture for defence against the enemy, but also for giving their

invaded neighbors in Georgia, all the relief and assistance his circumstances would permit; and that if the officer who commanded the relief sent to the coast of Georgia, did not think fit to pursue and attack the enemy, with the twelve vessels under his command, the governor of Carolina was not chargeable with that neglect, as he had directed that officer to adopt the most effectual measures for repelling the present invasion of Georgia, and destroying the ships and vessels of the Spaniards; as well while they continued within the ports, harbors, or districts of that colony, as on the sea-coast thereof, or even in Augustine itself: and that the commodore's conduct, had not been consonant to the governor's orders, was matter of real chagrin. This effort to throw the blame upon the commodore, was a flimsy resort: the enemy was treble his number and force; yet he was required not only to drive them from the coast of Georgia, but to annoy them in their own port. The narrow and impolitic consideration of its own security, appears to have been the governing principle of Carolina; nor had the governor been able to overcome the chagrin occasioned by the appointment of Oglethorpe, to the chief command over that province, as well as the one of which he was governor.

When the Spanish troops returned to the Havanna, their commander was arrested and tried by a court martial, found guilty and dismissed with disgrace, for his improper conduct on an expedition, the result of which proved so shameful and ignominious to the Spanish arms.

After the invasion of Georgia, the Spaniards made an effort to strengthen the frontier of East-Florida, by sending a troop of dragoons to St. Johns river, where they attacked and defeated a party of Indians. Oglethorpe was informed the next day, that a strong party was on their march from Augustine to reinforce them. On the 20th of March, the general embarked in small boats against them, with the highland company and the rangers of his own regiment, and landed in the night at St. Johns, where he was joined by the Indians. They ad-

vanced undiscovered in the night, surprised the Spaniards, and killed upwards of forty of them, with the loss of only one Indian: the next morning the general pursued the enemy so closely, that his Indians killed several of their rear guard: he continued the pursuit to Augustine, where he used every effort to draw the Spanish force out to action, but without effect—he posted the grenadiers and some of his troops in ambuscade, advanced himself with a few men and some Indians in sight of the town, intending to skirmish and retire, in order to draw them into action, but to no purpose. The Indians pressed the retreating enemy so close that several were killed under cover of their cannon: having driven the enemy into their strong hold, he returned to Frederica.

The Carolinians were still divided in their opinions, respecting the military character of Oglethorpe: while one party acknowledged his signal services, and poured out the highest encomiums on his courage and military skill, another shamefully censured his conduct and meanly detracted from his merit. No public notice was taken of his services in South-Carolina, except by the inhabitants in and about Port Royal; from which place a number of them addressed him as follows:—

“We the inhabitants of the southern parts of Carolina, beg leave to congratulate your excellency on your late wonderful success over your and our inveterate enemies, the Spaniards; who lately invaded Georgia, in such a numerous and formidable body, to the great terror of his majesty’s subjects in these southern parts. It was very certain that if the Spaniards had succeeded in those attempts against your excellency, they would also have entirely destroyed us; laid our province waste and desolate, and filled our habitations with blood and slaughter; so that his majesty must have lost the fine and spacious harbor of Port-Royal, where the largest ships of the British nation may remain in security, on any occasion.

“We are very sensible of the great protection and safety we have long enjoyed, by your excellency’s being to the southward

of us, and keeping your armed sloops cruising on the coast, which has given more security to our trade and property than all the ships of war ever stationed at Charleston; but more by your late resolution in frustrating the attempts of the Spaniards when nothing could have saved us from utter ruin, next to the providence of Almighty God, but your excellency's singular exertions, and the bravery of the troops under your command: we think it our duty to pray God to protect your excellency, and send you success in all your undertakings for his majesty's service; and we assure your excellency, that there is not a man of us, but would most willingly have ventured his all, in support of your excellency, and your gallant troops, had we been assisted and put in a condition to have been of service to you; and that we always considered our interest to be so united to that of the colony of Georgia, that had your excellency been cut off, we must have fallen of course."

The governors of New-York, New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North-Carolina, addressed letters to general Oglethorpe, congratulating him upon the important services rendered to the colonies; and assuring him of the interest they felt in the honor he had acquired by his indefatigable exertions, constant exposure, extraordinary courage, and unequalled military conduct; offering their humble thanks to the Supreme Governor of the universe, for placing the fate of the southern colonies under the direction of a general, so well qualified for the important task.

While these governors and a few of the inhabitants about Port-Royal in South Carolina, were thus tendering tributes of respect and gratitude to general Oglethorpe, reports prejudicial to his character were circulating in Charleston, particularly by the writers of some letters which were addressed to the trustees, and pamphlets to the public, which have been noticed heretofore; insomuch that his honor and integrity were called in question: these malicious rumours had reached London and occasioned some of his bills of exchange to be returned to

America, protested. Lieutenant Colonel William Cook, who owed his preferment to the general's particular friendship, on pretence of indisposition, had left Georgia before the invasion; exhibited nineteen charges against him, and named several officers, soldiers and citizens in Georgia, who were to be summoned to prove the general's guilt. As Oglethorpe had stretched his credit, exhausted his strength, and risked his life for the defence of Carolina and its frontier colony, such a recompense must have been equally mortifying as it was unmerited: and as such injurious treatment could not have had its birth amongst the wise and worthy part of the community, it must be ascribed to the envious and malicious, too many of whom are to be found in all communities. Envy cannot brook the blaze of superior virtues; and malice rejoices in the stains which even falsehood throws on a distinguished character: and under colour of the freedom of the press, the worst of men may step forth under its shield, and tarnish for a time, the reputation of the best men. Oglethorpe stood high enough to treat these charges with contempt; but the rude attack of an inferior officer, required such a repulse, that himself might fall into the pit, which his ingratitude had prompted him to dig for another. The general accordingly embarked, and arrived in England in September: a general court-martial was ordered for his trial, to convene at the Horse-guards; several days were spent in the examination of the various articles of complaint lodged against him, and after the most mature deliberation, the court adjudged the charges to be false, malicious, and groundless; and his honorable acquittal was reported to the king: in consequence of which, lieutenant-colonel Cook, was dismissed from the service, and declared incapable of serving his majesty in any military capacity whatever. By these means the reputation of general Oglethorpe, was cleared of those calumnies with which it had been assailed, and he appeared to the world in his true character. Carolina owed to this benefactor, her friendship and affections: Georgia was indebted to him for

her existence and protection: and his generous services to both colonies, deserve to be deeply imprinted on the memory of every inhabitant, and the benefits resulting from them to be gratefully remembered to the latest ages.

A list of the Spanish forces, employed in the invasion of Georgia, under the command of Don Manuel de Monteano:

One 'regiment of dismounted Dragoons.....	400
Havanna Regiment	500
Havanna Militia	1,000
Regiment of Artillery.....	400
Florida Militia	400
Batallion of Mulattoes	300
Black Regiment	400
Indians	90
Marines	600
Seamen	1,000
Total	5,090

General OGLETHORPE's command consisted of

His Regiment	472
Company of Rangers.....	30
Highlanders	50
Armed Militia	40
Indians	60
Total	652

Ensign Stuart's command at fort William, on the south end of Cumberland island, consisted of sixty men: fort William was about fifty miles south west from Frederica.

In this expedition, Tomochichi the old king, had no share: he died on the 15th of October, 1739, about four miles from Savannah, in the ninety-seventh year of his age. He appeared to be apprised of his approaching fate, and observed in his last

hours, that he had but little concern about dying, as he should in the event of war with Spain, be unable to take an active part in it. He expressed the greatest tenderness for general Oglethorpe, and exhorted the Indians to bear in remembrance the kindness with which he had been received by the king of England, and hoped that they would always be friendly to his subjects. He had requested that his body might be buried amongst the English in Savannah; the corpse was accordingly brought there and interred in Percival square, with military honors, and the general ordered a pyramid to be erected over the grave, with an inscription suitable to his character and standing.

General Oglethorpe did not return to Georgia; but upon all occasions, discovered an uncommon zeal for its prosperity and improvement. From its first settlement, the colony had been under a military government, executed by the general, and such officers as he chose to nominate and appoint. But now the trustees thought proper to establish a kind of civil government, and committed the charge of it to a president, and four councilors or assistants, who were to act agreeably to the instructions they should receive from them; and to be accountable to that corporation for their public conduct. William Stephens was appointed president or chief magistrate; and Thomas Jones, Henry Parker, John Fallowfield and Samuel Mercer, were appointed members of the council, or assistants: they were instructed to hold four general courts at Savannah every year, for the regulation of public affairs and to determine all differences relating to private property: no public money could be disposed of but by a warrant under the hand and seal of the president and a majority of the assistants in council assembled, who were instructed to exhibit monthly accounts to the trustees of money expended, and of the particular purposes to which it was applied. The militia were organized for the purpose of keeping the men properly disciplined for military service, and Oglethorpe's regiment was left for the defence of the colony, under the command of major Horton. The infant province under the

care of general Oglethorpe, had combatted and surmounted many difficulties and disadvantages, yet it promised but a poor recompense to the mother country, for the great sums of money expended for its protection and settlement. The indigent emigrants, especially those from England, having little acquaintance with husbandry and less inclination to labor, made bad farmers; and as greater privileges were allowed them in the adjoining province, they were easily decoyed to that colony: the Highlanders and Germans being more frugal and industrious, succeeded better; but hitherto had made but little progress, owing to the wars with the Spaniards, and to the hardships attending all kinds of culture. The staple commodities intended to be raised in Georgia, though profitable articles, were of the most improper kind for the first settlers of a new country. It appears that the Saltzburghers at Ebenezer as early as the year 1738, had made some small experiments in cotton, which they found to yield abundantly and of an excellent quality. The trustees however seem to have fixed their minds upon wine and silk, and were not disposed to encourage any other cultivation. With all their industry, their farms turned out to little amount; the most successful could little more than subsist their families, and the indolent remained in a starved and miserable condition about Savannah.

Notwithstanding all that Great-Britain had done for the population and improvement of the colony, it still remained in a poor languishing condition. The settlers consisted of two descriptions of people; first, of indigent subjects and foreigners, whom the trustees supported and maintained for many years: secondly, of men of some substance, whom flattering descriptions of the province had deceived and seduced: after the peace with Spain, a considerable part of Oglethorpe's regiment being disbanded, a number of soldiers accepted the encouragement offered them by government, and took up their residence in the colony: all adventurers who had brought property with them, having by this time exhausted their stock in fruitless ex-

periments, were reduced to indigence; so that emigrants from Britain, foreigners and disbanded soldiers, were all upon a level, and the prospect before them promised little else than that of living poor, dying beggars, and leaving poverty as an inheritance to their children: nor was the trade of the province more promising than its agriculture. Formerly the inhabitants about Savannah had transmitted to the trustees a representation of their grievances, but had obtained nothing which amounted to relief: but now chagrined with disappointments, and dispirited by the inhospitality of the climate, they viewed the designs of the trustees in no other light, than that of having decoyed them into misery. If they had been favored with credit, and had proved successful, which was far from being the case, as the tenure of their freehold was restricted to male heirs, the oldest son only could reap the benefit of their toil, and the rest left in a state of dependence on his bounty, or be left wholly to the charge of that Being, who feeds the fowls of the air. They considered their younger children equally entitled to paternal regard, and could not brook the idea of their holding lands under such tenure, as excluded them from the rights and privileges of other colonists. They saw numbers daily leaving the province, under the pressure of absolute necessity, and frankly represented to the trustees that nothing could prevent it from being totally deserted, but the same encouragements as their more fortunate neighbors in Carolina. That the trustees might have a correct view of their situation, they reiterated their complaints, and renewed their supplications for redress: they stated, that the British constitution, abounding with zealous provisions for the rights and liberties of mankind, would not permit subjects, who had voluntarily risked their lives, and spent their substance on the public faith, to effect a settlement in the most dangerous frontiers of the British empire, to be deprived of the common privileges of colonists: they complained that the land-holders in Georgia were prohibited from selling or leasing their possessions; that a tract containing fifty acres

of the best land, was too small an allowance for the maintenance of a family, and much more so, when they were refused a freedom to choose it; that a much higher quit-rent was exacted from them than was paid for the best lands in other parts of North America; that the importation of negroes was prohibited, and white people were utterly unequal to the labors requisite to the cultivation of the swamp or low lands; that the public money granted by parliament for the relief of the settlement and the improvement of the province, was misapplied, and therefore the purposes for which it was granted, were by no means answered. That these inconveniences and hardships, kept them in a state of poverty and misery; and that the chief causes of their calamities, were the strict adherence of the trustees to their chimerical and impracticable schemes of settlement; by which the people were refused the obvious means of subsistence, and cut off from every possible prospect of success. The trustees ought to have followed the example of the proprietors of South-Carolina, and enlarged their plan with respect to liberty and property: they could have encouraged emigration by such indulgences, and animated the inhabitants to diligence and perseverance. The plan of settlement ought to have been regulated by the nature of the climate, country, soil, the circumstances of the settlers, the result of experience, and not by wild speculations.

CHAPTER V.

MAJOR W^M. HORTON, of Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment at Frederica, was vested with the command of all the troops in the colony, in case of attack from an enemy. He interfered but little with the civil matters of the province, except when his assistance was required to enforce the measures of the president and council, and on these occasions acted with calmness and humanity; by which means he acquired the esteem and friendship of all the better kind of people in the province. Bailiffs or justices of the peace, were appointed in the different parts of the province, but vested with very limited powers.

On the 22d of March, 1744, the bomb magazine was blown up at Frederica. Very little damage was done, though it contained three thousand bombs. Whether fire was communicated by design or accident, is not known; if the shells had not been well bedded, the damage must have been very considerable. By some it was attributed to an Irishman, who arrived there a few days before, and disappeared immediately after the accident happened.

The affairs of the province passed on without any important occurrences for several years: the repeated complaints of the people were almost exclusively the subjects of colonial discussion. The tracts of land which had been planted with vines and mulberry-trees, scarcely retained the vestiges of cultivation. The trustees made another effort to encourage the manufacture of silk, by offers of bounty; a filature, or silk house was built, and the necessary articles for preparing the cocoons and winding the silk, were directed to be furnished.

Agriculture had not flourished, and commerce had scarcely been thought of: the firm of Harris and Habersham was established, and commenced something like a foreign trade, and in the year 1747, imported some foreign articles and established a mercantile correspondence in London and the West-Indies;

and in the next year shipped off several articles, such as deer-skins, lumber, cattle, hogs, poultry, &c. On these articles they made considerable profit for themselves, and greatly encouraged the planters by the purchase of every article they could dispose of, which was saleable broad.

As agriculture and commerce go hand in hand, petitions were drawn up and presented to the trustees, soliciting their patronage to the latter, by an offer of bounties for the products of Georgia, but the trustees seem to have fixed their hearts exclusively upon *wine* and *silk*; and these subjects were so much canvassed, that the very sound of those two words became hateful to the people.

Schedules were drawn up by those who possessed mercantile talents, and laid before the trustees, exhibiting the advantages that would result to the mother country as well as to the colonists, by the allowance of bounties to be appropriated in this way, instead of expending such large sums in fruitless efforts, for the encouragement of a staple, which the experience of fourteen years might have convinced them would not be productive; and that the ruin of the colony must be the result of their plans: but the trustees were inflexible.

Mr. James Habersham, who appears to have been a gentleman of considerable mercantile as well as political talents, at the particular request of Mr. Boltzius, stated to him in a letter of considerable length, his ideas on agriculture and commerce. This letter was closed by a request that it might be considered in the light of a confidential communication; because he had with great freedom, descanted on the views and conduct of many of the leading characters in the province, as well as the chimerical plans of the trustees: Mr. Boltzius solicited his consent to furnish a reverend friend of his in Germany with a copy, and by him the letter was forwarded to the trustees in England. When Mr. Habersham was informed of this circumstance, he supposed that all hopes of future favor and countenance from that honorable body were at an end, and that his residence there-

after in the province, would be made extremely unpleasant to him, if not insupportable, and regretted the latitude with which he had licensed Mr. Boltzius, in giving publicity to the contents of his letter. The strong language and forcible reasonings it contained, attracted the particular notice of the trustees, and became a subject of deliberate discussion; and instead of bringing the thunder of their vengeance upon him, he was appointed a member of the council in Georgia; and Samuel Mercer, who had been charged with fraud and mal-practice in office, was suspended from the functions of membership, by the board in Georgia, and dismissed from office by the trustees. The appointment of Mr. Habersham, was as unexpected to his associates in the administration, as it was to himself. In the November term of this year, three persons were convicted and sentenced to suffer death; one for murder and two for treason: the former and one of the latter, were executed; the other, a lad of sixteen years of age, was spared in consideration of his youth, at the solicitation of the inhabitants of Savannah. These were the first who suffered death under the sentence of the civil authority in the province.

Slavery had not yet been formally introduced into Georgia, and may be said to have been licensed, rather than authorised. The term for which the European servants were engaged, had generally expired, and there were no means of remedying this difficulty, except by hiring negro servants from their owners in South-Carolina; in which case, if any person attempted to enforce the regulation of the trustees, the owner appeared from Carolina and claimed his property. Finding that this plan of evading the law succeeded, negroes were hired for an hundred years, or during life, and a sum equal to the value of the negro was paid in advance; and the pretended owner bound himself to exhibit his claim, in case circumstances should render it necessary, to secure his services. Finally, purchases were openly made in Savannah from African traders: some seizures were made by those who opposed the principle, but as a ma-

majority of the magistrates were favorable to the introduction of slaves into the province, legal decisions were suspended from time to time, and a strong disposition evidenced by the courts to evade the operation of the law. So great was the majority on that side of the question, that anarchy and confusion were likely to be kindled into civil war. Several negro servants had been purchased for the Orphan-house, and Mr. Habersham declared that the institution could not be supported without them. The servants sent over from England by Mr. Whitefield, after a few months, refused to yield to the menial duties assigned to them; many ran away, and were supported and secreted in Carolina by their countrymen, until an opportunity offered to escape farther north, where they were secured against a compliance with the conditions of their indentures; and the few who remained were too old, too young, or too much afflicted with disease, to render services equal to a compensation for their clothing and subsistence. Those who had fled, soon found that they could procure land in the other colonies on easy terms, and engage in employments less degrading and more advantageous. The Highlanders and Germans persisted in their opposition: the Reverend Mr. Boltzius, who had taken a warm interest in the settlement of his country-men at Ebenezer, had been uniform in his opposition to the principles of slavery to his congregation, and expressed his fears that idleness and dissipation would grow out of the change, to the destruction of the people's morals; and it was with great difficulty he could be restrained from a repetition of the expression of his feelings, as he had been accustomed to do in the execution of his clerical functions; and indeed his eventual yielding, seems to have resulted from the apprehension of a civil war, rather than from any conviction which had changed his opinion, with regard to the justice or propriety of the measure. This gentleman had uniformly been the particular friend of Mr. Whitefield, but on this occasion he addressed a letter to him, charging him with a whimsical change of sentiments, destructive to industry and

morality, denouncing the vengeance of heaven against those who were instrumental in bringing a people under the yoke of slavery. Mr. Whitefield denied his having any participation or knowledge, of the change of circumstances which had lately taken place in Georgia, until a short time before this letter was received; but that he had been taught by the exercise of his reflections, to believe with Pope, that "whatever is, is best:" that God had some wise end in view in the permission of every occurrence, and that though he could not fathom the purposes connected with the slavery of the Africans, yet he had no doubt it would terminate to their advantage. That he had received a number of letters from Georgia upon the subject, which he had submitted to the trustees, on which he was informed, they were about to decide. When he took into view the wretched, miserable, starved condition of the negroes in their own country, that for the purpose of gaining a scant temporary subsistence, the father had sold his sons, his daughters, nay his wife, to a barbarous cruel foe; how much better must their condition be, when disposed of in a christian country, where they are treated with mildness and humanity, and required to perform no more than that portion of labor which in some way or other, is the common lot of the human race. After duly considering the subject, the trustees directed the president in Georgia, to convene a certain number of the inhabitants, who should be chosen out of the different districts, and who were considered capable of giving the true sentiments of a majority of the people upon the introduction of slavery, treating largely upon the subject, with such conditions and stipulations as would gratify their wishes; accordingly the president notified to the different districts the objects contemplated at this meeting, and twenty-three representatives met at Savannah, and after appointing major Horton president, they entered into sundry resolutions, the substance of which was, that the owners of slaves should educate the young and use every possible means of making religious impressions upon the minds

of the aged, and that all acts of inhumanity should be punished by the civil authority. It was thought that under these restrictions, good, instead of evil, would grow out of the measures which the people had been so long anxious to adopt. The proceedings signed by the president and sanctioned by the members, were transmitted to the trustees: this conference was just closed, when major Horton was taken with a malignant fever, which soon closed his valuable life. In a letter from Mr. Habersham to Gen. Oglethorpe, he says, "Major Horton's unwearied and generous exertions in the service of this colony, have perhaps contributed not a little, to abridge the number of his days. By particular desire he came to Savannah, to meet the president, assistants and other representatives, to consult on an affair of the greatest importance to the colony: his conduct and opinions, gave renewed specimens of his wisdom and prudence. Your excellency knew him well, therefore it would be vain in me to attempt a description of his merits: envy itself is obliged to confess, that he shined in war and in peace, in public and in private stations."

The mode in which land had hitherto been granted, was by a warrant from the president to the surveyors, Messrs. Jones or Robison, and a plat descriptive of the lot was annexed to the warrant, and recorded by the clerk of the council: the grantees were not satisfied with this informal kind of title, and many of them sent their grants over to England to have them signed by the president of the board of trustees, or some higher power than had been vested in the executive of Georgia. Application was made to the trustees to grant Hutchinson's island opposite to Savannah, to lady Huntingdon, who agreed to place negroes on it for the cultivation of rice, so as to furnish a substantial and permanent support to the Orphan-house: the proposition was not agreed to, but a tract of five hundred acres was granted in trust to that lady, who stocked it with negroes, and at her decease left a large donation for the use of this institution.

In the same year the remaining troops of general Oglethorpe's regiment, except one company, were disbanded; such of them as

did not choose to leave the colony, accepted of the lands allotted for them agreeably to the promise which had been made by the trustees at the time of enlistment: such as wished to return to England were conveyed to Charleston in boats, and from thence passages were provided for them at the expense of government.

By the return of these boats from Charleston, Captain Daniel Demetree with ten or twelve men came on, and landed at Caus-ton's bluff, in Augustine creek, and mentioned to some of the inhabitants that he was going to Frederica where he was to be stationed: as he had not reported himself to the president and council, they had a variety of conjectures respecting his authority and objects. Captain Jones was desired to wait on him and demand an explanation of his extraordinary conduct, in neither waiting upon or reporting himself to the president, who considered himself at the head of affairs in Georgia, and literally clothed with all the powers and functions of governor: Mr. Demetree's reply to captain Jones was, that his instructions were derived from his grace the duke of Bedford by the consent of the trustees; that he was to report to, receive from and obey the orders of governor Glen of South-Carolina, and he reluctantly appeared before the council to give any explanation. The president as may be supposed, was mortified at such contemptuous treatment, and addressed the trustees upon the subject, imagining that governor Glen's influence had been improperly exercised over the duke's friendship, and that it was contemplated to reduce the consequence of Georgia, if not to place it entirely under the government of Carolina; and that this small party would be of little use to the province if placed under his own control, and none at all, if placed under governor Glen's: he conjectured that the influence of that gentleman had been used to bring the province into contempt, and to gratify a private pique, in consequence of a misunderstanding which arose from his interference with the Indian trade at Augusta. Some men of bad character had been licensed by the governor of Carolina in this traffic, whom the Indians had charged with committing frauds upon them in trade, in consequence of which the

goods of others had been seized, and their lives endangered by way of retaliation. This subject had produced an unfriendly epistolary correspondence between them which had not been satisfactorily reconciled. President Stephens persevered in his determination, and directed the troops and inhabitants at Frederica to seize the boats which Demetree had in charge on his arrival, as the property of Oglethorpe's regiment, and to take no notice of Demetree, either in a civil or military capacity until further orders; a copy of this letter and a statement of Demetree's conduct, were sent to governor Glen. Captain Demetree's reception was not such as he was entitled to from his rank in the army, but such as his rude and improper conduct towards the council had justly merited: a few days reflection convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct, and on making satisfactory acknowledgments to the president and council, he was ordered to take the command.

On the 14th of December 1747, a number of Indians happened to be at Frederica, when the reverend Thomas Bosomworth was at that place, and a deep plan was laid by that gentleman, either to destroy the colony, or acquire a fortune equal to any in America. An Indian king by the name of Malatche, of an age and standing in the Creek nation well suited to answer Bosomworth's purposes, was present with sixteen others, who gave themselves the titles of kings and chiefs of the different towns. Bosomworth suggested to Malatche, the idea of having himself coronated in imperial form, by those of his tribe who were with him: accordingly a paper was drawn up, filled with royal ceremonies, acknowledging Malatche Opiya Meco, to be the rightful, natural prince and emperor of the dominions of the Creek nation; vesting him with powers to make laws, frame treaties, declare war, convey lands, and transact all affairs relating to the nation; binding themselves on the part of their several towns, to abide by and fulfil all his contracts and engagements.*

*See appendix No. 4.

This paper being signed and sealed by the pretended kings and chiefs, and witnessed in due form, Malatche requested that a copy of it might be sent over to the king of England for his sanction, and to have it put on record among the archives of his great ally. Having thus far accomplished his purposes, Bosomworth drew up a deed of conveyance in the common form, from Malatche Opiya Meco, emperor of the upper and lower Creek nations, to Thomas and Mary Bosomworth, of the colony of Georgia, for and in consideration of ten pieces of stroud, twelve pieces of duffles, two hundred weight of powder, two hundred weight of lead, twenty guns, twelve pair of pistols and one hundred weight of vermillion; warranting and defending to the said Thomas and Mary, all those tracts of land, known by the names of Hussoope or Ossabaw, Cowleygee or St. Catharine's, and Sapelo islands, with their appurtenances, &c. to the said Thomas and Mary his wife, their heirs and assigns, as long as the sun shall shine, or the waters run in the rivers, forever. Signed on the 4th day of the windy moon, corresponding with the 14th of December.

It has been mentioned that a number of the settlers had become so much dissatisfied with the tenures on which they held their lands, that they had removed to Carolina: Bosomworth taking advantage of this feeble state of the country, by his avarice and ambition the whole colony was brought to the very brink of destruction. As the concerns of these settlements are closely connected with the affairs of Indian nations, it is impossible to attain proper views of the circumstances and situation of the people, without frequently taking notice of the relation in which they stood to their savage neighbors: a considerable branch of provincial commerce, as well as the safety of the colonists, depended on their friendship with Indians; and to avoid all danger from their savage temper, the exercise of a considerable share of prudence and courage was often requisite. This will appear more obvious from the following occurrence.

It has been observed, that at an early period of the settlement

of Georgia, during the time Gen. Oglethorpe had the direction of public affairs, he had from motives of policy, treated an Indian, or rather half breed woman, called Mary Musgrove, afterwards Mary Matthews, with particular kindness and generosity. Finding that she had great influence amongst the Creeks, and understood their language, he made use of her as an interpreter, in order the more easily to form treaties of alliance with them; allowing her for her services an hundred pounds sterling a year. Thomas Bosomworth, who was chaplain to Oglethorpe's regiment, had married this woman, accepted a tract of land from the crown, and settled in the province. He now determined that his wife should assert her claim to the islands of St. Catharine's, Ossabaw and Sapelo, which had been allotted by treaty to the Indians, as part of their hunting lands. To stock them, this reverend gentleman had purchased cattle from the planters of Carolina, from whom he had obtained credit to a considerable amount. The stock not proving so productive as the proud ambitious clergyman expected, he adopted this extraordinary method of attaining to future greatness and acquiring a fortune: he encouraged his wife into the pretence of being the elder sister of Malatche, and of having descended in a maternal line from an Indian king, who held from nature the whole territories of the Creeks; and Bosomworth now persuaded her to assert her right to them, as superior not only to that of the trustees, but also to that of the king. Accordingly Mary assumed the title of an independent empress, disavowing all subjection or allegiance to the king of Great-Britain, otherwise than by way of treaty and alliance, such as one independent sovereign might voluntarily enter into with another: a meeting of all the Creeks was summoned, to whom Mary made a long speech, in which she set forth the justice of her claim, and the great injury she and her beloved subjects had sustained by the loss of their territories, and urged them to a defence of their rights by force of arms. The Indians were fired with rage at the idea of such indignity, and to a man pledged themselves to stand by her to

the last drop of their blood in defence of her royal person and their lands; in consequence of which queen Mary, escorted by a large body of her savage subjects, set out for Savannah, to demand from the president and council, a formal acknowledgment of her rights in the province. A messenger was despatched to notify to the president, the royal family's approach, and that Mary had assumed her right and title of sovereignty over the whole territories of the upper and lower Creeks, and to demand that all the lands south of Savannah river should be relinquished without loss of time: that she was the hereditary and rightful queen of both nations, and could command the whole force of her tribe, and in case of refusal she had determined to extirpate the whole settlement.

President Stephens and his council, alarmed at her high pretensions and bold threats, and sensible of her influence with the Indians, from her having been made a woman of consequence as an interpreter, were not a little embarrassed what steps to take for the public safety: they thought it best to use soft and healing measures until an opportunity might offer, of privately laying hold of her and shipping her off to England. In the mean time the militia were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to march to Savannah, at the shortest notice. The town was put in the best possible state of defence, but its whole force amounted to only one hundred and seventy men, able to bear arms: a message was sent to Mary, while she was yet several miles distant from Savannah at the head of her mighty host, to know whether she was serious in such wild pretensions, and to try the influence of persuasion to induce her to dismiss her followers and drop her audacious design; but finding her inflexible and resolute, the president resolved to put on a bold countenance, and receive the savages with firmness and resolution. The militia were ordered under arms to overawe them as much as possible, and as the Indians entered the town, captain Noble Jones at the head of a troop of horse stopped them, and demanded whether their visit was with hostile or friendly inten-

tions; but receiving no satisfactory answer, he ordered them to ground their arms, declaring that he had orders not to suffer one armed Indian to set foot in the town, and that he was determined to enforce the orders at the risk of his own life and that of his troops. The savages with great reluctance submitted, and accordingly Thomas Bosomworth, in his canonical robes with his queen by his side, followed by the kings and chiefs according to rank, marched into the town on the 20th of July, making a most formidable appearance.—The inhabitants were struck with terror at the sight of this ferocious tribe of savages. When they advanced to the parade, they found the militia drawn up under arms to receive them, by whom they were saluted with fifteen cannon, and conducted to the president's house. Bosomworth being ordered to withdraw, the Indian chiefs in a friendly manner, were required to declare their intention in paying this visit in so large a body, without being sent for by any person in authority: the warriors, as they had been instructed, answered that Mary was to speak for them, and that they would abide by whatever she said; that they had heard that she was to be sent like a captive over the great waters, and they were come to know on what account they were to lose their queen; that they intended no harm, and begged that their arms might be restored to them; and after consulting with Bosomworth and his wife, they would return and amicably settle all public affairs. To please them their guns were accordingly returned, but strict orders were issued to allow them no ammunition, until the council should see more clearly into their dark designs. On the day following, the Indians having had some private conferences with Mary, were observed with sullen countenances to march in a tumultuous manner through the streets, evidencing a hostile temper apparently determined on mischief: all the men being obliged to mount guard, the women and children were terrified and afraid to remain in the houses by themselves, expecting every moment to be murdered and scalped. During this confusion, a false rumor was circulated, that they

had cut off president Stephens's head with a tomahawk, which so exasperated the inhabitants that it was with difficulty the officers could restrain the troops from firing upon the savages: perhaps the exercise of the greatest prudence was never more requisite to save the town from being deluged with blood. Orders were given to lay hold of Bosomworth, to whom it was insinuated that he was marked as the first victim of vengeance in case of extremities; and he was carried out of the way and closely confined, upon which Mary, his beloved queen, became outrageous and frantic, and threatened the thunder of her vengeance against the magistrates and the whole colony: she ordered all white persons to depart immediately from her territories, and at their peril to refuse; she cursed Oglethorpe and his fraudulent treaties, and furiously stamping her foot upon the earth, swore by her Maker, that the whole globe should know that the ground she stood upon was her own. To prevent any ascendancy by bribes over the chiefs and warriors, she kept the leading men constantly under her eye, and would not suffer them to utter a sentence on public affairs, but in her presence.

The president finding that no peaceable agreement could be made with the Indians while under the baleful influence of their pretended queen, privately laid hold of her, and put her with her husband in confinement. This step was found necessary, before any reasonable terms of negociation would be heard. Having secured the royal family who were unquestionably the promoters of the conspiracy, the president employed men acquainted with the Indian tongue, to entertain the warriors in the most friendly and hospitable manner, and directed that explanations should be made to them, of the wicked designs of Bosomworth and his wife. Accordingly a feast was prepared for all the chiefs and leading warriors; at which they were informed, that Bosomworth had involved himself in debts which he was unable to pay, and that he wanted not only their lands, but a large share of the king's presents, which had been sent over for the chiefs and warriors; and his object was to

satisfy his creditors in Carolina at their expense; that the king's presents were only intended for the Indians, as a compensation for their useful services and firm attachment to him during the war against their common enemy, and that the lands adjoining the town were reserved for them to encamp upon, when they should come to visit their beloved friends in Savannah, and the three maritime islands to fish and hunt upon, when they should come to bathe in the salt waters: that neither Mary nor her husband, had any right to those lands, but that they were the common property of the whole nation: that the great king George, had ordered the president to defend their right to them, and expected that all his subjects, both white and red, would live together like brethren, and that the great king would suffer no one to molest or injure them; and had ordered these words to be left on record, that they might not be forgotten by their descendants, when they were dead and gone.

This policy produced a temporary effect, and many of the chiefs being convinced that Bosomworth had deceived them, declared they would no longer be governed by his advice; even Malatche, the leader of the lower Creeks, and the pretended relation of Mary, seemed satisfied, and was not a little pleased to hear that the king had sent them some valuable presents. Being asked why he acknowledged Mary as the empress of the great nation of Creeks, and resigned his power and possessions to a despicable old woman, while he was universally recognized as the great chief of the nation, and that too at the very time when the president and council were to give him many rich clothes and medals, for his services; he replied, that the whole nation acknowledged her as their queen, and none could distribute the royal presents but herself, or one of her family, as had been done heretofore. The president by this answer, perceived more clearly the design of Bosomworth's family; and to lessen their influence and consequence, and show the Indians that he had power to divide the royal bounty among the chiefs, determined to take the task upon himself, and immediately dismiss them,

on account of the growing expenses of the colony, and the hardships the inhabitants underwent in keeping guard night and day for the defence of the town.

In the mean time Malatche, whom the Indians compared to the wind, because of his fickle and variable temper, having at his own request, obtained access to Bosomworth and his wife, was again seduced and drawn over to support their chimerical claims. While the Indians were gathered together to receive their respective shares of the royal bounty, he stood up in the midst of them with a frowning countenance, and in violent agitation delivered a speech fraught with the most dangerous insinuations and threats; he declared that Mary possessed that country before general Oglethorpe; that all the lands belonged to her as queen and head of the Creeks; that it was by her consent Englishmen were at first permitted to settle on them; that they still held the land as her tenants at will; that her words were the voice of the whole nation, consisting of three thousand warriors, and at her command every man would raise the hatchet in defence of her rightful claim: then pulling a paper out of his pocket, he delivered it to the president in confirmation of what he had said. This was evidently the production of Bosomworth, and served to discover in the plainest manner, his ambitious views and wicked intrigues: the preamble was filled with the names of Indians, called kings of all the towns in the upper and lower Creeks, none of whom however, were present except two: the substance of the paper corresponded with Malatche's speech; styling Mary the rightful princess of the whole nation, descended in a maternal line from the emperor, and invested with full power and authority from them, to settle and finally determine all public affairs and causes relative to land and other things, with king George and his beloved men on both sides of the sea; and that whatever should be done by her, they would abide by as if done by themselves. Bosomworth probably did not intend that this paper should have been shown, nor was Malatche aware of the consequences of putting it in the hands of the president.

After reading this paper in council, the members were struck with astonishment; and Malatche, perceiving their uneasiness, begged to have it again, declaring he did not know it was a bad talk, promising he would immediately return it to the person from whom he had received it. To remove all impressions made on the minds of the Indians by Malatche's speech, and convince them of the deceitful and dangerous tendency of this confederacy, into which Bosomworth and his wife had betrayed them, had now become a matter of the highest consequence: happy was it for the province, that this, though difficult, was practicable; as ignorant savages were easily misled on the one side, it was practicable to convince them of their error on the other; accordingly, having gathered the Indians together, the president determining to adopt a bold and decided tone, addressed them with the following speech:—

“Friends and brothers: When Mr. Oglethorpe and his people first arrived in Georgia, they found Mary, then the wife of John Musgrove, living in a small hut at Yamacraw; he had a license from the governor of South-Carolina to trade with the Indians; she then appeared to be in a poor ragged condition, and was neglected and despised by the Creeks; but General Oglethorpe finding that she could speak both the English and Creek languages, employed her as an interpreter, richly clothed her, and made her a woman of the consequence she now appears; the people of Georgia always respected her, until she married Bosomworth, but from that time she has proved a liar and a deceiver. In fact, she was no relation of Malatche, but the daughter of an Indian woman of no note, by a white man: General Oglethorpe did not treat with her for the lands of Georgia, for she had none; but with the old and wise leaders of the Creek nation, who voluntarily surrendered their territories to the king; the Indians at that time having much waste land, which was useless to themselves, parted with a share of it to their friends, and were glad that white people had settled among them to supply their wants. He told them that the

present discontents of the Creeks, had been artfully infused into them by Mary, at the instigation of her husband; that he demanded a third part of the royal bounty, in order to rob the naked Indians of their right; that he had quarrelled with the president and council of Georgia, for refusing to answer his exorbitant demands, and therefore had filled the heads of the Indians with wild fancies and groundless jealousies, in order to ferment mischief, and induce them to break their alliance with their best friends, who alone were able to supply their wants, and defend them against their enemies." Here the Indians desired him to stop, and put an end to the contest declaring that their eyes were now opened, and they saw through the insidious design of Bosomworth; but though he desired to break the chain of friendship, they were determined to hold it fast and disappoint him, and begged therefore that all might smoke the pipe of peace; accordingly pipes and rum were brought, and they joined hand in hand, drank and smoked together in friendship, every one wishing that their hearts might be united in like manner as their hands. The royal presents, except ammunition, with which it was judged imprudent to trust them, until they were at some distance from town, were brought and distributed amongst them; the most disaffected and influential were purchased with the largest presents; even Malatche himself seemed fully satisfied with his share; and the savages in general perceiving the poverty and insignificancy of Bosomworth and his wife, and their total inability to supply their wants, apparently determined to break off all connection with them.

While the president and council flattered themselves with the idea of an amicable compromise of all the existing difficulties, and were rejoicing in the re-establishment of friendly intercourse with the Creeks; Mary, drunk with liquor, and disappointed in her royal views, rushed in amongst them like a fury, told the president that these were her people, that he had no business with them, and that he soon should be convinced

of it to his cost. The president calmly advised her to retire to her lodgings and forbear to poison the minds of the Indians, otherwise he would order her again into close confinement: upon which turning about to Malatche in great rage, she repeated, with some ill-natured comments, what the president had said; Malatche started from his seat, laid hold of his arms, calling upon the rest to follow his example, dared any man to touch the queen. The whole house was filled in a moment with tumult and uproar; every Indian having his tomahawk in his hand, the president and council expected nothing but instant death. During this confusion captain Jones, who commanded the guard, very seasonably interposed, and ordered the Indians immediately to surrender their arms: such courage was not the only requisite to overawe them, but at the same time great prudence was necessary, to avoid coming to extremities: with reluctance the Indians submitted, and Mary was conveyed to a private room, where a guard was placed over her, and all further communication with the Indians denied her, during their stay in Savannah. Her husband was sent for in order to reason with him, and convince him of the folly of his chimerical pretensions, and of the dangerous consequences which might result from his persisting in them: but no sooner did he appear before the president and council, than he became outrageously abusive, and in defiance of every argument which was used to persuade him to submission, he remained contumacious, and protested he would stand forth in vindication of his wife's right to the last extremity, and that the province of Georgia, should soon feel the weight of her power and vengeance. Such conduct, justly merited a course which it would have been impolitic in the council to pursue; but finding that fair means were fruitless and ineffectual they determined to remove him out of the way of the Indians until they were gone, and then humble him by force. After having secured the two leaders, it only remained to persuade the Indians peaceably to leave the town and return to their settlements: captain Ellick, a young warrior,

who had distinguished himself in discovering to his tribe the base intrigues of Bosomworth, being afraid to accompany Malatche and his followers, consulted his safety by setting out amongst the first; the rest followed him in different parties, and the inhabitants, tired out with constant duty, and harassed with frequent alarms, were at length happily relieved.

By this time Adam Bosomworth, brother of Thomas, who was agent for Indian affairs in Carolina, had arrived from that province, and being made acquainted with the extraordinary circumstances which had passed, was filled with shame and indignation: he found his ambitious brother not content with the common allowance of land granted by the crown, aspiring after sovereignty, and attempting to obtain by force, and at the ruin of the colony, one of the largest landed estates in the world. His plot was artfully contrived, and had it been executed with equal courage, fatal must the consequences have been; for had he taken possession of the magazine by surprise, on his first arrival in Savannah, and supplied the Indians with ammunition, the militia must soon have been overpowered, and every family would have fallen a sacrifice, to the indiscriminate vengeance of the savages: by the interposition of his brother, all differences were compromised. Thomas Bosomworth at length having returned to rational reflection, apparently repented of his folly, and solicited the pardon of the council and the people: he addressed a letter to the president acquainting him that he was deeply sensible of his duty as a subject, and of the respect he owed to the civil authority, and could no longer justify the conduct of his wife, but hoped that her present remorse and past services to the province, would entirely blot out the remembrance of her unguarded expressions and rash design: he appealed to the letters of general Oglethorpe, for her former irreproachable conduct and steady friendship to the settlement, and hoped her good behaviour for the future, would reinstate her in the public favor, and atone for her past offences; for his own part, he acknowledged her title to be groundless, and promised

to relinquish all claim to the lands of the province. The colonists forgave him and promised to forget what had passed; public tranquillity was re-established, queen Mary's idle claims were temporarily relinquished, and the royal family left the city about the first of August.

In the course of this year seven or eight vessels laden with Georgia produce, sailed from Savannah; among this number was a ship of four hundred tons burthen, freighted by Harris and Habersham.

Colonel William Stephens, who had long been a public servant, and for many years president of the council, resigned his appointment on the 21st of July, and retired to his farm in the country: he represented to the trustees, that the infirmities of age, had produced an imbecility of mind, which had rendered him incapable of doing justice to the arduous functions of his office. Henry Parker vice-president, succeeded him, and was accordingly commissioned on the 8th of April, 1751. James Habersham was appointed secretary of the province, and Noble Jones a member of the council: these appointments were accompanied with the pleasing intelligence of a full and ample release from all the restrictions respecting the titles of land, which it was hoped would not fail to produce industry among the people: a colonial assembly was authorised consisting of sixteen members, proportioned to the population of the different parishes or districts: writs of election were issued, and the members were required to convene at Savannah, on the 15th of January, 1751(?). The assembly met on the day appointed, which was signified to the vice-president and council; they were invited to an audience at the council chamber, when the objects of their meeting were suggested to them, observing the valuable purposes they might effect, if they should act with magnanimity and prudence. Francis Harris was chosen speaker, and the vice-president was requested to form a special court the next day, for the purpose of having the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and abjuration administered to the members: Noble Jones and

Pickering Robinson, were appointed a committee by the council, and directed to make a general enquiry into, and report the state of the colony to the assembly. The court met and administered the necessary oaths to this committee, and the members of the assembly: the next day the speaker presented an address to the vice president and council.

“Assembly Room, 25th January 1751.

Sir—We the deputies of the several districts in general assembly met, desire to return you our sincere thanks for your speech to us, and we assure you we shall endeavor with all concord and unanimity to go through the business appointed for us to do; and we also beg leave to embrace this opportunity of heartily congratulating you on your being appointed vice-president of the province, which we look upon as no more than a just reward for your long and faithful services in it; and we have no doubt but the same steadiness, justice, and candor, which have formerly guided you in the execution of other offices, will direct and govern you in this.

FRANCIS HARRIS, Speaker.

Henry Parker, Esquire, Vice-President of the Colony of Georgia.”

The Vice-President returned the following answer:

*“Mr. Speaker,
and Gentlemen of the Assembly,*

I heartily thank you for your kind and flattering address, and will always make it my study and endeavor to promote any thing which may tend to the service and advantage of the colony.

HENRY PARKER, Vice-President
of the Colony of Georgia.”

The following gentlemen constituted the first general assembly in Georgia.

Savannah District—Francis Harris, Speaker; John Milledge, William Francis, William Russel.

Augusta District—George Catogan, David Douglass.

Ebenezer District—Christian Reidlesperger, Theobald Keiffer.

Abercorn & Goshen Districts—William Ewen.

Josephs Town District—Charles Watson.

Vernonbourgh District—Patrick Houstoun.

Acton District—Peter Morell.

Little Ogeeche District—Joseph Summers.

Skidaway District—John Barnard.

Midway District—Audley Maxwell.

Darien District—John Mackintosh, B.

The assembly laid before the president and assistants, the following articles which they thought might be redressed by them, to which the answers of the vice-president and council are annexed.

1st.—The want of a proper pilot-boat.

Answ.—Shall be represented to the trustees.

2nd.—The want of leave to erect a building under the Bluff, for the convenience of boats' crews, negroes, &c. The building to be erected by subscription.

Answ.—A place will be laid out.

3rd.—The want of standard weights, scales, and measures.

Answ.—Applied for by the board to the trustees, and may be expected.

4th.—Want of a survey of the river.

Answ.—To be done as soon as a proper person can be found.

5th.—The want of an order to prevent masters of vessels from heaving ballast, &c. into the river.

Answ.—An order to be published.

6th.—The want of a commissioner for regulating pilots and pilotage.

Answ.—A person to be appointed.

7th.—The want of an inspector and sworn packer, to inspect the produce of the colony.

Answ.—To be appointed.

8th.—Want of a clerk of the market.

Answ.—To be appointed.

9th.—The want of regulations for the guard.

Answ.—To be remedied.

10th.—The want of proper officers to command the militia.

Answ.—To be appointed.

11th.—The repairs of the court-house.

Answ.—To be immediately done.

The business of the assembly being finished, the house adjourned after a session of twenty-two days. It appears that their powers amounted to little more than those of a grand jury, in making a presentment of grievances to be redressed.

The next day after the assembly had adjourned, Thomas Bosomworth and his wife Mary, arrived from St. Catharine's, and addressed a long letter to the vice-president, renewing the subject of her claim, complaining of the injustice done to her reputation, and endeavoring to justify her late conduct in claiming the country: she expressed a determination, in case she could not obtain from the president and council, what she deemed her just rights, to go over to England, and lay a statement of her claim before the king; and demanded of the president a sum of money to bear her expenses: that if she was culpable, she wished to meet the punishment that her conduct merited; and if innocent, to be reinstated in his majesty's favor. The council deemed it the best policy to take no notice of her representation, by which means the chiefs of the Creek nation would be duly impressed with her insignificance, consequently feel less interested in her concerns and fate. Bosomworth finding that no notice would be taken of his remonstrance by the vice-president and council, sold his wife's claim to the lands and improvements, lying between Savannah and Pipe-maker's-creek, and her house and lot in town, to raise funds to meet their expenses, in going to England. On his way to Charleston, where he intended to embark, he had his conveyance from the Indians proved before John Mulrine, a justice of the peace, in

Grenville county, South Carolina, and recorded by William Pinkney, secretary of state. Prepared to establish his claim, he embarked for England: apprehensive that some serious consequences might yet grow out of this affair, Patrick Graham, esquire, agent of Indian affairs for the trustees, was directed to make particular inquiry of the kings and chiefs of the Creek nation, whether those islands had been, by their knowledge or consent, sold and conveyed to Thomas Bosomworth and Mary his wife; and if not, to purchase them for and on account of the trustees. Graham made particular inquiries, and satisfied himself that the Indians were entirely ignorant of the transaction, and made the purchase as he had been instructed. Adam Bosomworth, the brother of Thomas, went into the nation soon after, and prevailed on the Indians to sign another conveyance to his brother, which was also proved, and sent over to England. The opinion of the best counsel in England was taken upon the case, and the subject was litigated in the courts of Great-Britain twelve years. An Indian treaty was held at Augusta, in December, 1755, the principal object of which was, the investigation of this subject. In the year 1759, a decision was made at the court of St. James' granting to Bosomworth and his wife, the island of St. Catharine's, and instructions were given to sell the other two islands, and the tract of country adjoining Savannah, at auction, and out of the proceeds of sale to extinguish all the claims of Bosomworth and his wife; first obtaining a general release and acquittance, renouncing all further claim, pretention, or demand whatsoever, and to report procedure, and hold the surplus subject to the order of the crown. In conformity with these instructions, the lands were advertised for sale on the premises, on the 10th of December, 1759: Isaac Levy, entered a protest against the sale, alledging that he had purchased a moiety of the lands in question, from Bosomworth and his wife, and that he had petitioned the king for justice: the sale was suspended, and a new suit instituted in England, by Levy, who died not long after, and I believe the case

has never been legally decided. Bosomworth took possession of, and resided on St. Catherine's island, where Mary died some time after, and he married his chambermaid. Finally, the remains of this trio, were deposited in the same grave-yard on this island, for which they had so long contended.

Noble Jones, James Habersham, and Pickering Robinson, were appointed to examine into and report the state of the colony to the trustees: they were also to renew their efforts, to promote the culture of silk. The trustees were still impressed with a belief, that this article would be exceedingly profitable, and with proper encouragement, might yet be made very beneficial both to the colony, and mother country: the great demand for it in Great Britain, made it an object of the highest importance. The mulberry-tree grew without any other trouble than merely transplanting, and thrived as well as other natural productions: about the beginning of March, the silk worms are hatched from the eggs, nature having provided that they should come into life, at the time mulberry leaves, on which they subsist, begin to open. The feeding and cleaning them, rather requires skill than strength, and young persons were to be employed in gathering leaves: one man skilled in the art could attend a large house full of worms, and in six weeks the whole process is completed. An article which was considered so profitable, and so easily raised, engrossed almost the entire attention of the trustees, and induced them to offer premiums, by way of encouragement, until the colonists should see their interest in it: two shillings per pound were allowed for the first quality of cocoons, one shilling for the second, and eight-pence for the third. A few persons, well acquainted with the whole process, were brought from Europe, to instruct the colonists in the management of the worms, and winding of the silk. The filature was furnished with basins, reels, and other machinery, for preparing and winding, and some fine specimens were sent over to England, which were examined by proper judges, and said to be equal to any that had ever been made in Europe. It had escaped the obser-

vation of the trustees however, that agriculture and commerce, which go hand in hand in the prosperity of a new country, should always precede manufactures. Eighteen years had now passed off, and the colony had not in any one year furnished a sufficient supply of subsistence for its own consumption, and commerce had barely appeared in the bud: numbers had left the country in disgust, and located themselves in Carolina: the white servants fled from their masters, and took shelter in that colony, where they were aided in secreting and concealing themselves; so that in fact, the country was dwindling into insignificance: the farms which had been cultivated were going to ruin, and in every respect, the country was rapidly degenerating. While in this feeble condition, their western neighbors, the Cherokees, shewed an unfriendly disposition towards them, and in the spring of this year, several outrages had been committed upon Indian traders. During the preceding winter, a number of quaker families had formed a settlement west of Augusta, on a body of land, which had formerly been owned by a tribe of Indians called the Savannahs, who had been compelled to abandon their towns and settlements, in consequence of a war between them and the Uchee tribe, who claimed the land adjoining them to the southward. When these families first arrived in the country, they had formed a kind of encampment, at a place afterwards called the Quaker-springs, seven miles from Augusta, and were impressed with a belief, from their own pacific temper, that they would have no difficulty in living on terms of friendship with the neighboring Indians: they had cleared some land, and made some progress in agriculture, before the Indians became hostile, but on the first appearance of the hatchet and scalping knife, they were alarmed, and at the sound of the war-whoop, fled and abandoned the country. The fortifications at Augusta had tumbled into ruins, and the people were greatly and very justly alarmed, at the hostile appearances which the state of affairs presented: every man was engaged at this important season of the year in making preparations for

the support of his family, and while thus necessarily employed, they were kept in a constant state of alarm.

About the middle of May, an express brought intelligence from Patrick Graham, of Augusta, stating that James Maxwell, with a number of traders had just arrived from the Cherokee nation, from whence they had fled with the greatest precipitation, to save their lives; that two traders had been murdered, and that they had been robbed of all their goods: that the inhabitants had fled from their plantations, and taken refuge in a church for mutual defence: that the number of women and children, crowded in such close quarters without subsistence, presented a most distressing scene. Detachments of mounted militia had been sent in different directions, but no traces of the enemy, had yet been discovered near Augusta. Another letter was received from James Fraser, which enclosed the copy of Maxwell's affidavit, of the facts relating to the hostile temper of the Indians: on a particular examination of this paper, some of the council were doubtful whether a trick had not been practised by some of the traders, to bring on a war with the Indians, by which means they would be screened from the payment of their debts; or that the whole story was untrue, and had been fabricated to answer their pecuniary purposes, as they were generally men of bad character, and had involved themselves in debts which they were unable to pay: that those idle abandoned spendthrifts, who had lost their credit, and had nothing more to lose, would perhaps, be most secure in the midst of confusion and war: but in either event, it was considered prudent, to put the country in a state of defence. Accordingly the magazine was examined, officers were appointed, and ordered to muster and discipline the militia: a troop of horse was ordered to be raised, composed of such inhabitants as were possessed of three hundred acres of land. Noble Jones was appointed colonel, and his son, Noble W. Jones, who had been a cadet in Oglethorpe's regiment, was appointed to command the dragoons. Bourquin and Francis, were appointed captains of the infantry, and an

express was sent to captain Mackintosh, at Darien, and to the officers at St. Simon's and Cumberland, warning them of the danger which threatened the province. The governor of South Carolina had also put the frontiers of that province in a state of defence: detachments of twenty-five men, were ordered to strengthen the posts on the frontier, and ammunition was sent to fort Moore, nearly opposite to Augusta, and to other garrisons where it was required. It appeared, eventually, that some of the young warriors of the Cherokee nation, had behaved insultingly to some of the traders, because they were not sufficiently supplied with ammunition; but the chiefs of the nation disapproved of the conduct of these young men, and were disposed to cultivate a peaceable and friendly intercourse: however, on the traders returning to the nation, with only small supplies of ammunition, they were all immediately seized by the Cherokees, who demanded the reasons why they had not been supplied with the quantity which they required; observing that their nation had been threatened with hostility by the Notteweges tribe, who were supported by the French, and that the destruction of their people would be the consequence of the traders withholding articles so absolutely necessary for their defence. The traders proposed if liberated to go immediately to Augusta and bring them a plentiful supply; the Indians consented that two only should be released on condition that they would return in thirty days, but that the others should be detained as hostages for a fulfilment of this stipulation, and that their lives should pay the forfeit. The traders finding no better conditions could be obtained, were compelled to accede to them, and James Beamor and Richard Smith set out for Augusta. On their arrival they made oath to the facts before stated, and their joint-affidavit was sent by an express to the governor of Carolina, whose particular business and interest it was to notice and take care of the Cherokee Indian trade, as the people concerned in it were inhabitants, and under the particular government of that province. Suspicions were still entertained that the Cherokees had been

bought over by the French, and that their real design was against Georgia and Carolina.

A circumstance occurred soon after which gave additional weight to these conjectures. Two Euchee Indians came to Savannah and informed president Parker, that some time before, a party of Cherokees and Notteweges, surprised their camp when the men were hunting, and carried off their women and children; that on their return to the camp they pursued their enemies, overtook them on the third day, killed and wounded several, scalped four, and retook their women and children. They requested a supply of ammunition which was given to them: they offered to show the president the scalps as trophies of their victory, but he declined seeing them, as he wished as much as possible to discountenance barbarity, and avoid every appearance of taking any share or interest in a quarrel between two tribes, who were considered equally in amity with the provinces. The next day he was informed that a body of Indians consisting of Cherokees and Notteweges, about seventy in number, had lately spoken to a white man, forty miles below Augusta, and enquired particularly after the Eucheas, threatening vengeance for their murdered friends. The president advised this party to notify to their tribe the danger with which they were threatened, and if they wanted assistance, to apply to the lower Creeks, who would furnish them with a sufficient number of warriors, to defend them against their enemies. About sun-set the same evening, the report of forty or fifty guns was heard a few miles above Savannah: a party of discovery was despatched under the command of captain N. W. Jones, who returned about two in the morning, and reported that he had found a number of Eucheas dancing round a fire, at Mrs. Bosomworth's Cow-pen plantation, performing the funeral ceremonies at the burial of one of their chiefs, in conformity with the custom of their country.

Apprehensive of danger, the utmost vigilance was observed in all parts of the province: every thing that gave intimations of alarm, was magnified in a few hours into the horrors of war.

In the midst of these apprehensions, between twelve and one o'clock at night the report of several guns was heard at Yamacraw-bluff, on the edge of the town. The militia were at their posts immediately and prepared for action. The visiting rounds of the guard reported that three men, a woman and a boy, of the Euchee tribe, were encamped on the bluff. Colonel Jones, Mr. Habersham, and a party of discovery went to the place and found a Creek Indian named Ben, shot through the body and stabbed in the breast with a knife; they met the other men near the camp, who reported that a party of the Cherokee and Nottewege Indians, had attacked them when asleep; that they had jumped to their guns, and had fired on them, and that they believed only Ben was wounded: he was carried to town and died about day-light. The camp was examined in the morning, and one of the attacking party was traced some distance by the blood which had issued from his wound. Captain Harris with a party of men and two Indians, went in search of him, and in a few hours found him in a thick swamp, and though badly wounded, he made an effort to stab Kenith Bailie with a long French knife: the two Creeks were very anxious to kill and scalp the wounded prisoner, but the president informed them that it was the peremptory order of his king, never to kill a prisoner, and that the principles of the christian religion enjoined this rule, upon all white people who were believers: the Indians were not satisfied, but the president persisted in his determination. The Indian was attended by a physician and soon recovered: he said that the Cherokees, to which nation he belonged, were not disposed to go to war with the white people, and that their only intention was to take revenge of the Eucheas for the blood of their brethren. Isaac Young reported to the president that an Indian woman, entirely naked, went to his plantation, near the place where the wounded Indian was found, and begged a negro woman for a piece of cloth to cover her; when the negro informed him of the circumstance, he pursued and overtook the woman, and upon his inquiring her business there, she said she was a Chickasaw and had been taken prisoner

by the Cherokees, from whom she had escaped the night before: she enquired whether the Eucheas had got the wounded Cherokee and whether he was living, and expressed great pleasure and gratification when she heard that the wound was not mortal, and that he was under the care of the white people: she said there were four Cherokees and six Notteweges in the party. Young told her that she must go with him to town, to which she pretended to consent, but said she had a child in the swamp which she desired his permission to bring out, and then she would go with him: he accompanied her to the swamp, but she gave him the slip and escaped. Colonel Jones and captain Harris were sent with a party of men in pursuit of the Cherokee and Nottewege party, and desired to have a friendly conference with them; but they did not overtake them.

The trustees finding that the province did not flourish under their patronage, and tired out with the complaints against the system of government which they had established, with the intention of making the idle and dissipated, industrious and sober; and persecuted with the murmurs of the people, for whose benefit they had devoted so much time, and spent so much money; on the 20th of June, 1752, resigned their charter, and the province was formed into a royal government.

In the course of this year, a considerable emigration of inhabitants arrived from Dorchester, in South-Carolina, who settled at Medway: they applied to and obtained from government, a grant for thirty-one thousand nine hundred and fifty acres of land, lying south of Ogeeche river. These people were characterised by the same independent principles, and the same regard to the institutions of religion, which have distinguished the inhabitants of New England, from whom they were descendants. The reverend Joseph Lord, the minister who accompanied the original emigrants from New England to Carolina, was succeeded by the reverend Hugh Fisher, who died in 1734. Mr. Fisher was succeeded by the reverend John Osgood, who after a pious life and useful ministry, died in 1773: he was minister of that congregation near forty years; and was the father and

friend, as well as the shepherd of his flock. On the 2nd of February 1696, the Lord's-supper had, for the first time, been administered in the colony of South-Carolina, to this congregation, by Mr. Lord.

The colony of Georgia remained in an unprotected condition, for a considerable time after the trustees resigned their charter, hoping and despairing alternately as to the form of government under which they were to be placed: the king finally determined on a plan, and on the 1st of October, 1754, appointed John Reynolds, then an officer in the navy, governor of Georgia; and legislative powers similar to those of the other royal governments in America, were authorised.

Though the people were now favored with the same liberties and mode of government enjoyed by their neighbors under the royal care, yet several years elapsed before the value of land was known, or that spirit of industry prevailed, which afterwards diffused its happy influence over the country. The impolitic result of treaties of alliance offensive and defensive with Indian tribes, now began to be unfolded: the flames of war which had blazed forth between the Cherokees and Creeks, was likely to involve the remnant of Georgia in the common calamity: each of those nations claimed the assistance of the province, as allies under the articles of treaty, in arms and ammunition; and the Creeks urged their claim for the assistance of men. The president and council, previous to the arrival of governor Reynolds, were obliged to plead poverty, alledging to the ambassadors of both nations, the apprehensions they were under of a degree of hostility, against which they were unable to defend themselves. The Chickesaw tribe had passed through the Creek nation, and murdered some of the Cherokees; the latter in return pursued their enemies, and mistaking them for the Creek tribe, revenged the blood of their brethren upon the innocent. Malatche pursued a party of Cherokees, and murdered several of them near the gates of Charleston; and five Indian traders had also been murdered and robbed by the different tribes. Governor Glen of Carolina, sent a special message to Malatche, and

requested a conference with him in Charleston; he returned for answer that he was willing to meet him, but as the path had not been open or safe for some time, he could not enter the settlement with his chiefs, without a military escort: upon which the governor sent fifty horsemen, who met him at the confines of his territories, and conveyed Malatche and one hundred of his head-men to Charleston: a new treaty was framed, accompanied by the usual preliminaries of presents, and the Indians returned home well satisfied.

But few important transactions appear to have been recorded under the government of Mr. Reynolds: the laws which prevailed in the other colonies, governed here. In 1755, the king granted letters patent for establishing courts of record by the name of the General Courts of the Province of Georgia: Noble Jones and Jonathan Bryan, esquires, were appointed justices during the king's pleasure. These courts were competent to the trial of all treasons, felonies, and other criminal offences, committed within the province; they were to be held at Savannah, on the second Thursdays in January, April, July and October, every year: the letters also granted to the justices of this general court, full power to hold any pleas, in any manner of causes, suits and actions, as well criminal as civil, real, personal, and mixed where the sum demanded should exceed forty shillings sterling, excepting only where the title of any freehold should come in question; and authorised them to bring causes to a final determination and execution, as fully and amply as might be done by the courts of king's-bench, common pleas, and exchequer in England.

The following table will give some idea of the progress of the colony for a few succeeding years.

Exports in 1750.....	\$ 8,897	76
ditto 1751.....	16,816	40
ditto 1752.....	21,494	04
ditto 1753.....	28,429	32
ditto 1754.....	42,211	08
ditto 1756.....	74,485	44

The exports in silk from 1750 to 1754 inclusively, amounted to eight thousand eight hundred and eighty dollars. In the year 1757, one thousand and fifty pounds of raw silk, were received at the flature in Savannah. In 1758, the silk-house was consumed by fire, with a quantity of silk and seven thousand and forty pounds of cocoons or silk balls. In 1759, the colony exported upwards of ten thousand weight of raw silk, which sold two or three shillings per pound higher in London, than that of any other country. The cultivation of rice had begun to produce disease, and the high pine-barren was resorted to for the restoration and preservation of health: some of the people in the country imagined that the residence near the causeways, in consequence of vegetable putrefaction, occasioned bilious fevers and other diseases. Since Mr. Boltzius had become a rice planter, he had buried four children out of five, in seven years, but the health of the negroes had not been much impaired by this species of cultivation.

On the 16th of February, 1757, Henry Ellis, a fellow of the royal society, was appointed to succeed Reynolds in the government. The rich swamps on the sides of the rivers lay uncultivated, and the planters had not yet found their way into the interior of the country, where the lands not only exceeded those in the maritime parts in fertility for every thing else but rice, but where the climate was more healthy and pleasant. But few of the Georgians had any negroes to assist them in the cultivation of the rice swamps, so that in 1756, the whole exports of the country were only two thousand nine hundred and ninety-six barrels of rice, nine thousand three hundred and ninety-five pounds of indigo, and two hundred and sixty-eight pounds of raw silk, which together with skins, furs, lumber and provisions, amounted only to sixteen thousand seven hundred and seventy-six pounds sterling. Georgia continued to be an asylum for insolvent and embarrassed debtors for Carolina and the other colonies, which, added to the indolence that had previously prevailed, kept the colony sunk in insignificance and contempt.

The extreme heat of the summer in Savannah, as represented by governor Ellis, in a letter which was published, perhaps tended to deter many Europeans from settling so far south in North America. He says, that on the 7th of July, while writing in his piazza which was open at both ends, the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer stood at 102° in the shade: twice had it risen to that height during the summer, several times to 100° , and for many days together to 98° , and in the night did not sink below 89° : he thought it highly probable that the inhabitants of Savannah breathed a hotter air than any other people upon earth. The town being situated on a sandy eminence, the reflection from the dry sand, when there was little or no agitation in the air, greatly increased the heat: by walking an hundred yards from his house upon the sand, under his umbrella, with the thermometer suspended by a thread as high as his face, the mercury rose to 105° . The same thermometer he had with him in the equatorial parts of Africa and the West India islands, yet by his journals he found it had never risen so high in those places, and that its general station had been between 79° and 86° : he acknowledges, however, that he felt those degrees of heat in a moist air, more oppressive than at Savannah, when the thermometer stood at 81° in his cellar, at 102° in the story above it, and in the upper story of his house at 105° . On the 10th of December, the mercury was up at 86° , and on the eleventh down as low as 38° , on the same instrument. Such sudden and extreme changes, especially when they happen frequently, must violently rack the human constitution,; yet he asserts that few people died at Savannah out of the ordinary course, though many were working in the open air, exposed to the sun during this extreme heat. As governor Ellis was a man of sense and erudition, and no doubt made his observations with accuracy, I shall not presume to call in question the facts which he relates, but I feel bound to assert, under the authority of the oldest inhabitants now living

in Savannah, that there have been but few instances in which the mercury has risen above 96° , and none in which it has risen above 100° in the shade, within the last thirty years. The trade winds prevail on the sea coast of Georgia, with great uniformity in the summer, particularly on the southern part of it; and it is not unworthy of remark, that I resided at Point Peter near the mouth of St. Mary's river, eighteen months, and the garrison consisted of near one hundred troops, and that I do not recollect after the first fortnight, to have seen three men in bed with the fever, and that only one died during that period, and his disease was a consumption. Indeed the sea shore is healthy, except in the vicinity of stagnant fresh water, and would be very pleasant if the inhabitants were not annoyed by sand-flies and musketoes; the former are most troublesome in the spring and autumnal months, and in cloudy and damp mornings and evenings: they are unable to endure much heat or cold, and disappear on the approach of either. The musketoes are most troublesome during the heat of summer, particularly at night. I have annexed these remarks, because governor Ellis asserts that the maritime parts of Georgia are the most unhealthy and unpleasant.

In 1758, the lands which had been acquired from the Indians, and laid off into districts, were formed into eight parishes—Christ Church, St. Matthew's, St. George's, St. Paul's, St. Phillip's, St. John's, St. Andrew's, and St. James's. After the rice swamps were opened and cultivated in Medway settlement in the parish of St. John's, it was soon ascertained that a residence on the sea-shore proved more healthy than on the inland swamps, particularly during the summer and autumnal months. Mark Carr owned a tract of land which was high, sandy and dry, situated on Medway river; this he laid off into a town, dividing it into lots, streets, lanes, and commons: proposals were made to him to make a deed of trust for this tract of land, to which he consented, and accordingly executed a deed on the 19th of June 1758, to James Maxwell, Kenith Baillie,

John Elliot, Gray Elliot, and John Stevens, who were appointed trustees. This town is bounded on the east by Medway river and St. Catharine's sound, which communicates with the sea, and on the other side by pine lands, which are generally lower than that on which the town was laid off, and a rising neck of land communicating with the country to the west: the town was called Sunbury, the etymology of which is probably, the *residence of the sun*, from the entire exposure of this place to his beams while he is above the horizon. Soon after its settlement and organization as a town, it rose into considerable commercial importance: emigrants came from different quarters to this healthy maritime port, particularly from Bermuda: about seventy came from that island, but unfortunately for them and the reputation of the town, a mortal epidemic broke out, and carried off about fifty of their number the first year: it is highly probable they brought the seeds of the disease with them. Of the remainder, as many as were able, returned to their native country. This circumstance however, did not very much retard the growing state of this eligible spot: a lucrative trade was carried on with various parts of the West Indies, in lumber, rice, indigo, corn, &c. Seven square rigged vessels have been known to enter the port of Sunbury in one day, and about the years 1769 and 1770, it was thought by many, in point of commercial consequence, to rival Savannah. In this prosperous state it continued with very little interruption, until the war commenced between Great-Britain and America, when it was taken by the British troops under the command of general Provoost. After the revolutionary war, trade took a different channel, and Savannah became the receptacle for the exports and imports of that portion of the province, which had formerly passed through Sunbury. Farther notice will be taken of this town in its proper place.

CHAPTER VI.

WHEN general Abercrombie succeeded lord Loudon, as commander in chief of the British forces in America, it was contemplated to take possession of the French strong holds on the Ohio, westward of Virginia; and the Cherokees were invited to join their allies in the capture of fort Duquesne: the French finding a superior force coming against them, burned the houses, destroyed the works, abandoned the place, and fell down the river in small boats to establish other works west of the Cherokee mountains. The flight of the French garrison to the south, prognosticated the visitation of greater evils to Georgia and the Carolinas: the scene of action was only changed to positions more accessible, and the baleful influence of those active and enterprising enemies, soon appeared among the upper tribes of the Cherokees. An unfortunate quarrel between the savages and Virginians, helped to forward the designs of the French, by opening to them an easier access to the towns of those Indians. In the different expeditions against the French, the Cherokees, agreeably to treaty, had sent considerable parties of warriors to the assistance of the British army. As the horses in those parts ran wild in the woods, it was customary both among the Indians and white people on the frontiers, to catch them and appropriate them to their own purposes: while the savages were returning home through the back parts of Virginia, many of them having lost their horses, caught such as came in their way, never imagining that they belonged to any individual in the province. The Virginians resented the injury by force of arms, and killed twelve or fourteen of the unsuspecting savages, and took several prisoners: the Cherokees were highly provoked at such ungrateful usage from their allies, whose frontiers they had helped to change from a field of blood to peaceful habitations, and when they returned home, told what had happened, to their nation:

the flame soon spread through the upper towns, and those who had lost their friends and relations were implacable, breathing indiscriminate fury and vengeance against the white people. In vain did the chiefs interpose their authority; nothing would restrain the furious spirit of their young men, who were determined to take satisfaction for the loss of their relations: the emissaries of France added fuel to the flame, by telling them that the English intended to kill all their men, and make slaves of their wives and children; they instigated them to bloodshed, and furnished them with arms and ammunition. The scattered families on the frontiers of Georgia, lay much exposed to the tomahawk and scalping knife of these savages, who commonly make no distinction of age or sex, but pour an indiscriminate vengeance upon the innocent and guilty. Fort Loudon, on the south bank of Tennessee river, opposite to the place where Tellico block-house was afterwards built, and garrisoned by two hundred men under the command of captains Demere and Steuart, first felt the direful effects of the Cherokee's vengeance. The soldiers as usual making excursions into the woods, to hunt for fresh provisions, were attacked and some of them killed: from this time such dangers threatened the garrison, that every one was confined within the small boundaries of the fort; all communication with the distant settlement, from which they received supplies being cut off, and the garrison being but poorly provisioned, had no other prospects but those of famine or death. Parties of Indians took the field, rushed down among the settlements, and murdered and scalped a number of people on the frontiers. Fort Prince George had been erected in 1755, on the bank of Savannah river, near a town of the Cherokee's, called Keowee: the commanding officer of this garrison communicated to the governors of South-Carolina and Georgia, the dangers with which they were threatened; upon which governor Lyttleton ordered out a body of militia, and repaired to the fort, where he formed a treaty with six of the chiefs, on the 26th of December 1759; one of the articles required that thirty-

two Indian warriors were to be given as hostages to fulfil other conditions; these were confined in a small hut not more than sufficient for the comfortable accommodation of six soldiers. The small-pox broke out in the governor's camp, his men became dissatisfied and mutinous, and the governor was obliged to return to Charleston. The rejoicings on his return were scarcely ended, when hostilities were recommenced by the Indians, who were dissatisfied with the conditions of the treaty, and denied the powers of the few chiefs who had framed it: fourteen men had been killed within a mile of fort Prince-George: the Indians had contracted an invincible antipathy to captain Coytmore who commanded in the fort: the imprisonment of their chiefs had converted their desire for peace into the bitterest rage for war. Oconostota, a chieftain of great influence, had become a most implacable and vindictive enemy: he collected a strong party of Cherokees, surrounded the fort, and compelled the garrison to keep within their works, but finding he could make no impression on them, nor oblige the commander to surrender, he contrived the following stratagem for the relief of his countrymen, confined in it as hostages: as the under-wood was well calculated for his purposes, he placed a party of savages in a dark cane-brake by the river side, and then sent an Indian woman whom he knew to be always welcome at the fort, to inform the commander that he had something of consequence to communicate to him, and would be glad to speak to him at the river side: captain Coytmore imprudently consented, and without any suspicion of danger walked to the river, accompanied by lieutenants Bell and Foster: Oconostota appeared on the opposite side, and told him he was going to Charleston to procure the release of the hostages, and would be glad of a white man to accompany him as a safe-guard; the better to cover his design, he had a bridle in his hand, and added that he would go and hunt for a horse: the captain replied that he should have a guard and wished he might find a horse, as the journey was very long, and performing it on foot would be fatiguing and

tedious: upon which the Indian turned quickly round, swung the bridle round his head as a signal to the savages placed in ambush, who instantly fired upon the officers, shot the captain dead upon the spot, and wounded the other two; in consequence of which, orders were given to put the hostages in irons, to prevent any farther danger from them: but while the soldiers were attempting to execute these orders, the Indians stabbed with a knife, the first man who laid hold of them, and wounded two more, upon which the garrison, exasperated to the highest degree, fell upon the unfortunate hostages and butchered them in a manner too shocking to relate.

There were few men in the Cherokee nation that did not lose a friend or relation by this massacre; and therefore with one voice all declared for war. The leaders in every town seized the hatchet, telling their followers that the spirits of their murdered brothers were hovering around them, calling out for vengeance on their enemies. From the different towns large parties of warriors took the field, painted according to their custom, and arrayed with all their instruments of death, shouting the war-whoop and burning with impatience to imbrue their hands in the blood of their enemies: they rushed down among innocent and defenceless families on the frontiers, where men, women and children, without distinction, fell a sacrifice to their merciless fury: such as fled to the woods and escaped the scalping knife, perished with hunger, and those whom they made prisoners, were carried into the wilderness, where they suffered inexpressible hardships: every day brought fresh accounts of these desolating ravages. In this extremity, an express was sent to general Amherst, the commander in chief in America, acquainting him with the deplorable situation of the southern provinces, and imploring his assistance in the most pressing terms. Accordingly a battalion of Highlanders, and four companies of the royal Scots, under the command of colonel Montgomery, were ordered immediately to embark at New York, and sail for the relief of Georgia and Carolina. Application

was made to the neighboring provinces of North-Carolina and Virginia for relief, and seven companies of rangers were raised to patrol the frontiers, and prevent the savages from penetrating farther down among the settlements. A considerable sum was voted for presents to such of the Creeks, Chickesaws and Catabaws, as should join and go to war against the Cherokees; provisions were sent to the families that had escaped to Augusta, and fort Moore, and the best possible preparations made for chastising the enemy, as soon as the regulars expected from New York should arrive.

In April, 1760, colonel Montgomery landed in Carolina: great was the joy in the province of Georgia upon the arrival of this gallant officer; but as the conquest of Canada was the grand object of this year's campaign in America, he had orders to strike a sudden blow for the relief of the southern provinces, and return to head quarters at Albany without loss of time; nothing was therefore omitted that was judged necessary to forward the expedition. Soon after his arrival he marched to the Congarees in South Carolina, where he was joined by the military strength of that province, and immediately put his little army in motion for the Cherokee country. Having but little time allowed him, his march was uncommonly spirited and expeditious: after reaching Twelve Mile river, he encamped on an advantageous ground, and marched with a party of his men in the night, to surprise Estatoe, an Indian town about twenty miles from his camp: the first noise he heard by the way, was the barking of a dog before his men, where he was informed there was an Indian town called little Keowee, which he ordered his light infantry to surround, and, except women and children, to put every Indian in it to the sword. Having done this piece of service, he proceeded to Estatoe, which he found abandoned by all the savages, excepting a few who had not time to make their escape. The town which consisted of two hundred houses, and was well provided with corn, hogs and poultry, was reduced to ashes. Sugar-town, and every other settlement

eastward of the Blue Ridge, afterwards shared the same fate. In these lower towns about sixty Indians were killed, forty made prisoners, and the rest driven to seek for shelter among the mountains. Having finished this business with the loss of only three or four men, he marched to the relief of fort Prince-George, which had been for some time invested by savages, inso-much that no soldier durst venture beyond the bounds of the fort, and where the garrison was in distress, not so much for the want of provisions, as fuel to prepare them.

While the army rested at fort Prince-George, Edmund Atkins, agent of Indian affairs, despatched two Indian chiefs to the middle settlements, to inform the Cherokees, that by suing for peace they might obtain it, as the former friends and allies of Britain: at the same time they sent a message to fort Loudon, requesting captains Demere and Steuart, the commanding officers at that place, to use their best endeavors for obtaining peace with the Cherokees in the upper towns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the savages were not yet disposed to listen to terms of accommodation, determined to carry the chastisement a little farther. Dismal was the wilderness into which he entered, and many were the hardships and dangers he had to encounter, from dark thickets, rugged paths and narrow passes; in which a small body of men, properly posted, might harass and tire out the bravest army that ever took the field. Having on every side suspicious grounds, he found occasion for the exercise of constant vigilance and circumspection. On the 27th of June, when he had advanced within five miles of Etchoe, the nearest town in the middle settlements, he found there a low valley, covered so thick with brush, that a soldier could scarcely see the length of his body, and in the middle of which, there was a muddy river, with steep clay banks; through this dark place, where it was impossible for any number of men to act together, the army must necessarily march; and therefore captain Morison, who commanded a company of rangers, had orders to advance and scour the thicket: they had scarcely

entered it, when a number of savages sprang from their ambuscade, fired on them, killed the captain and wounded several of his party: upon which the light infantry and grenadiers were ordered to advance and charge the enemy, which they did with great courage and alacrity. A heavy fire then began on both sides, and during some time the soldiers could only discover the places where the savages were hid by the report of their guns. Colonel Montgomery finding that the number of Indians that guarded this place was considerable, and that they were determined obstinately to dispute it, ordered the royal Scots, who were in the rear, to advance between the savages and a rising ground on the right, while the Highlanders marched towards the left to support the light infantry and grenadiers: the woods resounded with the war-whoop and horrible yells of the savages; but these, instead of intimidating the troops, seemed rather to inspire them with more firmness and resolution. At length the Indians gave way, and in their retreat falling in with the royal Scots, suffered considerably before they got out of their reach. By this time, the royals being in the front, and the Highlanders in the rear, the enemy keeping up a retreating fire took possession of a hill, apparently disposed to remain at a distance, but continued to retreat as the army advanced: colonel Montgomery perceiving that they kept aloof, gave orders to the line to face about, and march directly for the town of Etchoe. The enemy no sooner observed this movement, than they got behind the hill, and ran to alarm their wives and children. In this action, which lasted about an hour, colonel Montgomery who made several narrow escapes, had twenty men killed and seventy-six wounded: what number the enemy lost was not ascertained. Upon viewing the ground, all were astonished to see with what judgment and skill it was chosen; the most experienced officer could not have fixed upon a spot more advantageous for way-laying and attacking an enemy, according to the method of fighting practised among the Indians. This action, though it terminated in favor of the British army,

had reduced it to such a situation as made it very imprudent, if not impracticable, to penetrate farther into those woods; as the repulse of the enemy was far from being decisive, for they had only retired from one advantageous situation to another, in order to renew the attack when the army should again advance. The humanity of the commander would not suffer him to leave so many wounded men exposed to the vengeance of savages, without a strong-hold in which he might lodge them, or some detachment to protect them, and which he now could not spare; should he proceed further, he saw plainly that he must expect frequent skirmishes, which would increase the number; and the burning of so many Indian towns would be a poor compensation for the great risk, and perhaps sacrifice of so many valuable troops. To furnish horses for the men already wounded, he was obliged to throw away many bags of flour into the river, and what remained was no more than sufficient for his army on their return to fort Prince-George. Under these circumstances therefore, orders were given for a retreat, which was made with great regularity, although the enemy continued hovering around and annoying them to the utmost of their power. A large train of wounded men was brought above sixty miles through a hazardous country in safety, for which no small share of honor and credit was due to the officer who conducted the retreat.

The dangers which threatened the frontiers, induced colonel Montgomery to leave four companies of the royal regiment under the command of major Frederick Hamilton for their protection, while he embarked with the battalion of Highlanders, and sailed for New York. In the mean time, the distant garrison of fort Loudon, consisting of two hundred men, was reduced to the dreadful alternative of perishing by hunger, or submitting to the mercy of the enraged Cherokees. Having received information that the Virginians had undertaken to relieve them, for a while they seemed satisfied, anxiously waiting for the realization of their hopes. The Virginians however,

were equally disqualified with their neighbors of Carolina, from rendering them any assistance. So remote was the fort from every settlement, and so difficult was it to march an army through a barren wilderness, where the passes and thickets were ambuscaded by the enemy, and to carry at the same time sufficient supplies, that the Virginians had given over all thoughts of the attempt. The provisions in the mean time being entirely exhausted at the fort, the garrison was reduced to the most deplorable situation: for a whole month they had no other subsistence but the flesh of lean horses and dogs, and a small supply of Indian beans. Long had the officers animated and encouraged the men with the hopes of relief; but now being blockaded night and day by the enemy, and having no resource left, they threatened to leave the fort, and die at once by the hands of the savages, rather than perish slowly by famine. In this extremity, the commander was obliged to call a council of war, to consider what was proper to be done; the officers were all of opinion that it was impossible to hold out any longer, and therefore agreed to surrender the fort to the Cherokees on the best terms that could be obtained from them. For this purpose captain Steuart, an officer of great sagacity and address, and much beloved by all the Indians who remained in the British interest, procured leave to go to Chote, one of the principal towns in that neighborhood, where he obtained the following terms of capitulation, which were signed by the commanding officer and two chiefs: "That the garrison of fort Loudon march out with their arms and drums, each soldier having as much powder and ball as their officer shall think necessary for their march, and all the baggage they may choose to carry: that the garrison be permitted to march to Virginia, or fort Prince-George, as the commanding officer shall think proper, unmolested; and that a number of Indians be appointed to escort them, and hunt for provisions during the march: that such soldiers as are lame, or by sickness disabled from marching, be received into the Indian towns, and kindly used until they re-

cover, and then be allowed to proceed to fort Prince-George: that the Indians do provide for the garrison as many horses as they conveniently can for their march, agreeing with the officers and soldiers for the payment: that the fort's great guns, powder, ball, and spare arms, be delivered to the Indians without fraud or further delay, on the day appointed for the march of the troops."

Agreeably to the terms stipulated, the garrison delivered up the fort, on the 7th of August, and marched out with their arms, accompanied by Oconostota the prince of Chote, and several other Indians, and that day marched fifteen miles on their way to fort Prince-George. At night they encamped on a plain about two miles from Taliquo an Indian town, when all their Indian attendants, upon some pretence or other, left them; which the officers considered as an unfavorable omen, and therefore placed a strict guard round their camp. During the night they remained unmolested, but next morning at the dawn of day, a soldier from an out-post came running in, and informed them, that he saw a vast number of Indians, armed and painted in a warlike manner, creeping among the bushes, and advancing in order to surround the camp: scarcely had the commanding officer time to order his men under arms, when the savages poured in upon them a heavy fire from different directions, accompanied by the most hideous yells, which struck a panic into the soldiers, who were so much enfeebled and dispirited that they were incapable of making any effectual resistance. Captain Paul Demere the commander, and three other officers, with twenty-six men, fell at the first onset; some fled into the woods and were afterwards taken prisoners; captain Steuart, and those who remained, were seized, pinioned, and carried back to fort Loudon. No sooner had Attakullakulla heard that his friend captain Steuart, had escaped death, than he hastened to the fort and purchased him from the Indian who took him, giving him his rifle, clothes, and all that he could command, by way of ransom: he then took possession of captain Demere's

house, where he kept his prisoner as one of his family, and humanely shared with him the little provisions his table afforded, until an opportunity should offer of rescuing him from their hands; but the poor soldiers were kept in a miserable state of captivity for some time, and then ransomed at considerable expense.

During the time these prisoners were confined at fort London, Oconostota formed a design of attacking fort Prince-George, and for this purpose despatched a messenger to the Indian settlements in the valley, requesting all the warriors to join him at Stickoe-old-town. By accident a discovery was made of ten kegs of powder, and ball in proportion, which the officers had secretly buried in the fort, to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy: this discovery had nearly proved fatal to captain Steuart, and would certainly have cost him his life, had not the interpreter had so much presence of mind, as to assure the enemy that this ammunition had been concealed without his knowledge or consent. The Indians having now abundance of ammunition for the siege, a council was called at Chote, to which captain Steuart was brought, and put in mind of the obligations he lay under to them for sparing his life; and as they had resolved to carry six cannon and two co-horns with them against fort Prince-George, to be managed by men under his command, they told him he must go and write such letters to the commandant as they should dictate: they informed him at the same time, that if that officer should refuse to surrender, they were determined to burn the prisoners, one after another before his face, and try if he could be so obstinate as to hold out while he saw his friends expiring in the flames: captain Steuart was much alarmed at his situation, and from that moment resolved to make his escape or perish in the attempt: his design he privately communicated to his faithful friend Attakullakulla, and told him how uneasy he was at the thoughts of being compelled to bear arms against his countrymen: he acknowledged that he had always been a brother to

him, and hoped he would now assist him in projecting the means of escape from this perilous situation. The old man took him by the hand, told him he might rely upon his friendship, that he had given him one proof of his esteem, and intended to give him another, so soon as his brother should return and help him to concert the measure: he said he was fully apprized of the evil designs of his countrymen, and the fatal consequences which would be the result; and should he go and persuade the garrison of fort Prince-George to surrender by capitulation, as fort Loudon had done, what could be expected but that they would share the same treacherous dismal fate.

Strong and uncultivated minds carry friendship, as well as enmity, to an astonishing length. Among the savages, family friendship is a national virtue, and civilized nations may blush, when they consider how far barbarians have often surpassed them in the practice of it. The instance I am going to relate, is as singular and memorable as many that have been recorded in the annals of history.

Attakullakulla claimed captain Steuart as his prisoner, and had resolved at every hazard to save his life, and for this purpose there was no time to be lost: accordingly he signified to his countrymen that he intended to go hunting for a few days, and carry his prisoner with him to eat venison: at the same time captain Steuart went among his soldiers, and told them that they could never expect to be ransomed by their government, if they gave the smallest assistance to the Indians against fort Prince-George. Having settled all matters, they set out on their journey accompanied by the old warrior's wife, his brother and two soldiers, who were the only persons of the garrison that knew how to convey great guns through the woods. For provisions they depended upon what they might kill by the way: the distance to the frontier settlements was great, and the utmost expedition necessary, to prevent any surprise from Indians pursuing them. Nine days and nights did they travel through a dreary wilderness, shaping their course by the sun

and moon for Virginia, and traversing many hills, vallies and paths, that had never been travelled before but by savages and wild beasts. On the tenth they arrived at Holston's river, where they fortunately fell in with a party of three hundred men, sent out by colonel Bird for the relief of such soldiers as might make their escape that way from fort Loudon. On the fourteenth day the captain reached colonel Bird's camp, on the frontiers of Virginia, where having loaded his faithful friend and his party, with presents and provisions, he sent him back to protect the unhappy prisoners until they should be ransomed, and to exert his influence among the Cherokees for the restoration of peace. Captain Steuart's first reflections, after his escape from the savages, were exercised to concert ways and means for the relief and ransom of his garrison: he despatched expresses to Georgia and Carolina, informing them of the sad disaster that had happened to the garrison of fort Loudon, and of the designs of the Indians against fort Prince-George. In consequence of which, orders were given to Major Thompson, who commanded the militia on the frontiers of Georgia and Carolina, to throw in provisions for ten weeks into that fort, and warn the commanding officer of his danger. The settlers near Augusta, secured their families as well as they could in stockade forts. A messenger was sent to Attakullakulla, desiring him to inform the Cherokees, that fort Prince-George was impregnable, having vast quantities of powder buried under ground every where around it, to blow up all enemies that should attempt to come near it. Presents of considerable value were sent to ransom the prisoners at fort Loudon, a few of whom had by this time made their escape: and afterwards, not only those that were confined in the towns and in the vallies, but also all that had survived the hardships of hunger, disease and captivity, in the upper towns, were released and delivered up to the commanding officer at fort Prince-George.

It might be expected that the vindictive spirit of the savages would now have been satisfied, and that they would have

been disposed to listen to terms of accommodation: the treacherous conduct to the soldiers at fort Loudon, they intended as a satisfaction for the harsh treatment their hostage friends and relations had met with at fort Prince-George; and dearly had the provinces of Georgia and South-Carolina paid for the imprisonment and massacre of the chiefs at that place. Still, however, a great majority of the nation spurned at every offer of peace: the lower towns had all been destroyed by colonel Montgomery, the warriors in the middle settlements had lost many friends and relations; and several Frenchmen had crept in among the upper towns, and helped to foment their ill humor against the southern provinces. Lewis Latinac, a French officer, was among them, and proved an indefatigable instigator to mischief: he furnished them with arms and ammunition, and urged them to war, persuading them that the English had nothing less in view than the extermination of their race from the face of the earth: at a great meeting of the nation, he pulled out his hatchet, and sticking it into a log, called out—"Who is the man that will take this up for the king of France?" Saloue, a young warrior of Estatoe, laid hold of it and cried out, "I am for war! the spirits of our brothers who have been slain, still call upon us to revenge their death—he is no better than a woman who refuses to follow me." Many others seized the tomahawk, yet dyed with the stains of innocent blood, and burned with impatience for the field. Finding the provinces still under the most dreadful apprehensions from their savage neighbors, who continued insolent and vindictive, and ready to renew their ravages and murders; application was again made to general Amherst for assistance. Canada being now reduced, the commander in chief could the more easily spare a force adequate to the purpose intended. Colonel Montgomery, who conducted the former expedition, having embarked for England, the command of the Highlanders devolved on lieutenant colonel James Grant, who was ordered to relieve the distresses of the southern provinces: on the 1st of January he

landed at Charleston, where he quartered for the winter. Georgia was yet but a narrow strip of settlement on the southern frontier of Carolina, consequently barely able to protect herself at home. Carolina determined to exert herself to the utmost, that in conjunction with the regular forces, a severe correction might be given to those troublesome savages: for this purpose a provincial regiment was raised, and the command of it given to colonel Middleton: presents were provided for the Indian allies, and several of the Chickesaws and Catabaws engaged to assist them against the Cherokees. The Creeks whose help was also strongly solicited, played an artful game between the English and French, and gave the one or the other encouragement, according to the advantages they reaped from them. All possible preparations were made for supplying the army with provisions at different stages, and with such means of conveyance as were thought necessary to the expedition; and they flattered themselves that by one resolute exertion, they would tire the savages of war, and oblige them to accept of such terms of peace as were dictated to them. After being joined by the provincial regiment and Indian allies, colonel Grant mustered in all, about two thousand six hundred men. With this force he took up his line of march early in the spring: he had served some years in America, and had been in several engagements with Indians, he was therefore no stranger to their method of making war: he was sensible how ready they were to take all advantages by surprise, stratagem or otherwise, that the nature of the country afforded: caution and vigilance were not only necessary on his part, but to prepare an army for such service, the dress, arms and discipline, should all be adapted to the nature of the country, in order to give the men every advantage. According to the Indian manner of attack, the eye should be habituated to perpetual watchfulness; the body should be so clothed as to be free from encumbrance, and equipped in such light armor as would be most manageable in a thick forest; the feet and legs should be fortified against briars and brushy

woods; and those men who had been accustomed to hunting, being quick-sighted, were found to be of great service in scouring the dark thickets, and as guards to the main body. Europeans, who were strangers to the country and mode of Indian warfare, were not well calculated for military service in America. Many brave officers, ignorant of the peculiar circumstances of the country, have fallen a sacrifice to their own rashness, and the numerous snares to which they were exposed by savage cunning.

On the 27th of May, colonel Grant arrived at fort Prince-George, and Attakullakulla, having received information that he was advancing against his nation with a formidable army, hastened to his camp, to signify his earnest desire for peace: he told the colonel that he always had been, and ever would continue to be, a firm friend to the English; that the outrages of his countrymen covered him with shame, and filled his heart with grief; nevertheless he would gladly interpose in their behalf, in order to bring about an accommodation. He said he had often been ignominiously censured by his countrymen, for his pacific disposition, and that the young warriors of his nation had delighted in war, and despised his counsels, after he had endeavored to get the war-club buried, and the former good correspondence with the provinces re-established. Now he was determined to set out for the nation to persuade them to consult their safety, and speedily agree to terms of peace; and warmly begged the colonel to proceed no further until he returned. Colonel Grant replied, that he had always entertained the highest opinion of his honesty and integrity; that he had always been a friend to the English; that the observance of his wise policy would have produced the happiest effects, if the obstinacy of his nation had not forbidden them to follow his advice; that he was but one man and did not speak the sentiments of the nation, which had been led astray by the falshood of French emissaries.

On the 7th of June, colonel Grant marched from fort Prince-George, carrying with him thirty days provision. A party of ninety Indians and thirty woodsmen from the frontiers, painted like Indians, under the command of captain Kenedy, were ordered to march in front and scour the woods. After them the light infantry and fifty rangers followed, consisting in all of about two hundred men; by whose vigilance and activity the commander imagined that the main-body of the army might be kept secure from surprise. For three days he made forced marches, in order to get over two narrow dangerous defiles in the mountains, which he accomplished without a shot from the enemy, but which might have cost him dear, had they been properly guarded and disputed by the Indians. On the 10th, various circumstances concurred to awaken suspicion in every direction, and orders were given for the first time, to load and prepare for action, and the guards to march slowly forward, doubling their vigilance. As they frequently spied Indians around them, all were convinced that they should that day have an engagement: at length having advanced near the place where colonel Montgomery was attacked the preceding year, the Indian allies in the van-guard, about eight in the morning, observed a large body of Cherokees posted upon a hill on the right flank of the army, and immediately gave the alarm. The savages rushed down and commenced a heavy fire upon the advanced guard, which being supported, the enemy was soon repulsed, and again formed upon the heights: under this hill the army was obliged to march a considerable distance. On the left was a river, from the opposite bank of which, a large party of Indians fired briskly on the troops as they advanced. Colonel Grant ordered a party to march up the hill and drive the enemy from the heights, while the line faced about and gave their whole charge to the Indians who annoyed them from the side of the river: the engagement became general, and the savages seemed determined obstinately to dispute the lower grounds, while those on the hill were dislodged only to return with re-

doubled ardor to the charge. The situation of the troops was in several respects unfavorable: fatigued by a tedious march in rainy weather; surrounded with woods, so that they could not discern the enemy; galled by the scattered fire of the savages, who when pressed always kept aloof, but rallied again and returned to the ground; no sooner did the army gain an advantage over them on one quarter, than they appeared in force on another. While the attention of the commander was occupied in driving the enemy from their lurking-place on the river side, the rear was attacked, and so vigorous an effort made to take the flour and cattle, that he was obliged to order a party back to the relief of the rear-guard. From eight o'clock in the morning until eleven, the savages continued to keep up an irregular and incessant fire, sometimes from one place and sometimes from another, while the woods resounded with the war-whoop, and hideous shouts and yells, to intimidate the troops. At length the Cherokees gave way, and being pursued for some time, scattered shots continued until about two o'clock, when the enemy disappeared. The loss sustained by the enemy in this action, was not accurately ascertained. Colonel Grant's loss was between fifty and sixty killed and wounded: orders were given not to bury the slain, but to sink them in the river, to prevent their being dug up from their graves and scalped: to provide horses for those that were wounded, several bags of flour were thrown into the river; after which the army proceeded to Etchoe, a large Indian town, which they reached about midnight, and next day reduced to ashes: all the other towns in the middle settlement, fourteen in number, shared the same fate: the corn, cattle and other stores of the enemy were likewise destroyed, and those miserable savages, with their families, were driven to seek shelter and subsistence among the barren mountains.

It would be no easy matter to describe the various hardships which this little army endured in the wilderness from heat, thirst, watching, danger and fatigue: thirty days colonel Grant

continued in the heart of the Cherokee territories, with a handful of troops, compared to the number of warriors in that nation; and upon his return to fort Prince-George, the feet and legs of many of his men were so mangled, and their strength and spirits so much exhausted, that they were unable to march further without rest: he resolved therefore to encamp, to refresh his men, and wait the resolutions of the Cherokees, in consequence of the chastisement which he had given them. Besides the numerous advantages their country afforded for defence, it was supposed that some French officers had been among them and given them assistance. When the Indians were driven from their advantageous posts and thickets, they were wholly disconcerted, and though the repulse was far from being decisive, yet after this engagement they returned no more to the charge, but remained the tame spectators of their towns in flames, and their country laid desolate.

To represent the situation of the savages, when reduced by this severe correction, would be difficult: even in time of peace they are destitute of that foresight, which in a great measure provides for future events; but in time of war, when their villages are destroyed, and their fields plundered, they are reduced to the extreme of want: driven to barren mountains, the hunters being furnished with ammunition, might indeed obtain a scanty subsistence for themselves, but women, children and old men, must suffer greatly, when almost deprived of the means of supporting life.

A few days after colonel Grant's arrival at fort Prince-George, Attakullakulla, attended by several chiefs, came to his camp and expressed a desire for peace. Severely had they suffered for breaking their alliance with the English, and giving ear to the deceitful promises of the French: convinced at last of the weakness and perfidy of the latter, who were neither able to assist them in time of war, or to supply their wants in time of peace, they resolved to renounce all connection with them forever: accordingly terms of peace were drawn up and

proposed, which were no less honorable to colonel Grant, than advantageous to the southern provinces. The different articles being read and interpreted, Attakullakulla agreed to them all, excepting one, by which it was demanded, that four Cherokee Indians should be delivered up to colonel Grant at fort Prince-George, to be put to death in the front of his camp, or four green scalps be brought to him within twelve days. Attakullakulla declared that he had no such authority from his nation, that he thought the stipulation unreasonable and unjust, and that he could not voluntarily grant it. Colonel Grant withdrew this offensive article; after which peace was formally ratified, and their former friendship being renewed, all expressed a hope that it would last as long as the sun should shine and the rivers run.

On the 30th of October 1760, sir James Wright was appointed the successor of Henry Ellis, as governor of Georgia. Soon after his arrival at Savannah, which was early in 1761, he issued writs of election, and assigned to each parish the number of members proportioned to its population, as follows:

CHRIST CHURCH PARISH.

Savannah—Joseph Ottolenghe, Gray Elliott, Lewis Johnson, Joseph Gibbons.

Acton—William Gibbons.

Vernonbourgh—Edmund Tannatt.

Sea-Islands—Henry Yonge.

Little Ogechee—James Read.

ST. MATTHEW'S PARISH.

Abercorn and Goshen—William Francis.

Ebenezer—William Ewen, N. W. Jones, James de Veaux.

ST. GEORGE'S PARISH.

Hallifax—Alexander Wylly, James Whitefield.

ST. PAUL'S PARISH.

Augusta—Edward Barnard, John Graham, ——— Williams, or L. McGillvray.

ST. PHILIP'S PARISH.

Great Ogechee—Elisha Butler, John Maxwell.

ST. JOHN'S PARISH.

Midway and Sunbury—Thomas Carter, Parmenus Way, John Winn.

ST. ANDREW'S PARISH.

Darien—Robert Baillie, John Holmes.

ST. JAMES'S PARISH.

Frederica—Lachlan McIntosh.

After the usual ceremonies, a variety of subjects were submitted by the governor for legislative consideration, judiciously selected for the advantage of the colony. It is to be regretted that little can be said of the progress which was made in agriculture or commerce, under the administration of governor Wright's predecessors. The want of talents in Reynolds, and the want of morality and proper exertion in Ellis, occasioned the colony to be left in a less prosperous state than they had found it: the province had long suffered for want of credit, and the political foresight of governor Wright, was soon evidenced by his judicious arrangements: bills of credit to the amount of seven thousand four hundred and ten pounds sterling were put in circulation, and ways and means applied for keeping up its credit. The good effects of this policy were soon experienced: thirty-seven vessels were fully freighted in one year, and the rich swamps of Georgia invited laborers to the cultivation of rice. By the peace which was soon after made with Spain, the boundaries were extended to the Mississippi on the west, and on the south to latitude 31° , and the St. Mary's river. East and west Florida were also given up by Spain, and though of themselves but little more than a barren waste, formed an important acquisition to Georgia; it deprived the Spaniards of a strong hold, from which they had sent out armed forces to harass the province, and which was an easy avenue through

which it had been often invaded: it removed troublesome neighbors out of their way, who had often excited the savages to hostilities against them, and made Augustine an asylum for fugitive slaves: it opened some convenient ports for trade with Britain and the West Indies, and for annoying the French and Spanish ships coming through the gulf of Florida, in case of any future rupture: it formed a strong frontier for Georgia, and furnished an immense tract of valuable land for reduced officers, soldiers and others, to settle and cultivate. To testify the high sense the king had of the conduct and bravery of his officers and soldiers during the late war, and to encourage the settlement of Georgia, tracts of land were offered to them as rewards for their services. Orders were given to the governor, to grant without fee or reward, five thousand acres to each field officer who had served in America; three thousand to every captain; two thousand to every subaltern; two hundred to every non-commissioned officer, and fifty to every private soldier, free of tax for ten years; but subject at the expiration of that term, to the same as the other lands in the province, and to the same conditions of cultivation and improvement. For the encouragement of the settlers, they were allowed civil establishments similar to those of other royal governments on the continent, so soon as their circumstances would admit, and the same provision was made for their lives, liberties and properties, under the new as under the old government.

No province on the continent felt the happy effects of this public security, sooner than Georgia, which had long struggled under many difficulties arising from the want of credit from friends, and the frequent molestations of enemies. During the late war, the government had been given to a man who wanted neither wisdom to discern, nor resolution to pursue, the most effectual means for its improvement: while he proved a father to the people, and governed the province with equity and justice, he discovered at the same time the excellence of its low lands and river swamps, by the proper management and diligent

cultivation of which, he acquired in a few years a plentiful fortune. His example and success, gave vigor to industry, and promoted a spirit of emulation among the planters for improvement: the rich lands were sought for with that zeal, and cleared with that ardor, which the prospect of riches naturally inspired. The British merchants observing the province safe and advancing to a hopeful and promising state, were no longer backward in extending credit to it, but supplied it with negroes, and goods of British manufacture, with equal freedom as other provinces on the continent. The planters no sooner got the strength of Africa to assist them, than they labored with success, and the lands every year yielded greater and greater increase. The trade of the province kept pace with its progress in cultivation; the rich swamps attracted the attention not only of strangers, but even of the planters of Carolina, who had been accustomed to treat their poor neighbors with the utmost contempt, several of whom sold their estates in that colony, and removed with their families and effects to Georgia. Many settlements were made by the Carolinians about Sunbury, and upon the Alatomaha. The price of produce at Savannah increased as the quality improved, a circumstance which contributed much to the prosperity of the country. The planters situated on the opposite side of Savannah river, found in the capital of Georgia, a convenient and excellent market for their staple commodities. In short, from this period the rice, indigo and naval stores, arrived at the markets in Europe, of equal excellence and perfection, and, in proportion to its strength, in equal quantities with those of its more powerful and opulent neighbors.

CHAPTER VII.

FREQUENT ruptures had occurred among the different nations of Indians, and it had required the exercise of no small share of policy, to steer a course which would free them from the necessity of taking an active part in their wars: the Creeks particularly, held in remembrance the assistance which they had rendered general Oglethorpe in his attack upon Augustine, as well as the services which he had received from them when the Spaniards attacked him on St. Simon's island.

Traders had heretofore taken out licenses from the governors of Carolina and Georgia, for carrying on commerce with the Indians: this plan however, had been found on experiment, to be very objectionable; the traders were so far removed from the power to which they were amenable, that they committed frauds on the ignorant savages with whom they were licensed to trade, so that scarcely a month passed without some complaints; it was therefore thought that the office of a superintendent was necessary in the southern as well as the northern district of America. Accordingly this office was given to captain John Steuart, who was in every respect well qualified for the trust; as Attakullakulla, had given it as his opinion, that the southern provinces would receive no molestation from the Indians, if this officer was appointed to reside among them, and to advise and direct them. After his commission arrived from the king, the southern provinces promised themselves peace and tranquillity with the Indians. Plans of lenity were likewise adopted by the government, with respect to Indian tribes, and every possible precaution was taken to guard against oppression, and prevent any rupture with them. Experience had shewn that rigorous measures, such as humbling them by force of arms, were not only very expensive, inhuman, bloody, and incompatible with the christian character, but also seldom accompanied with any good effects: such ill treatment generally

rendered the savages cruel, suspicious and distrustful, and kept them in preparation for the renewal of hostilities, by keeping alive their ferocious and warlike spirit. Their extirpation, though it might be easily effected would be as dishonorable and incorrect as it was cruel; and the prosperity of the provinces, would be retarded by the attempt: whereas by treating them with gentleness and humanity, it was thought they would by degrees lose their savage spirit, and become more harmless and civilized. It was hoped that by establishing a fair and free trade with them, their rude temper would in time be softened, their manners amended, and their wants increased; and instead of implacable enemies, ever bent on war and mischief, they might be rendered good allies, and beneficial to the trade of the country.

It was thought advisable by the superintendent of Indian affairs, soon after his appointment, to call a general congress of the southern tribes; and Mobile was fixed on as the most proper and convenient place for the meeting. As captain Steuart was well acquainted with the humors, tempers and characters of these tribes, his speech, in which is exhibited a good specimen of the language and manner proper for addressing barbarous nations, may not be unworthy of the reader's perusal.

"Friends and brothers—the Supreme Being, who made the world and all its inhabitants, has been pleased to permit many great warriors of the British and Indian nations, to meet together in peace. The great king, who is the father of all white people in Great Britain and America, and defends them from danger, this day stretches out his arms to receive his red children into favor: he has been pleased to appoint me superintendent of the affairs of all Indian nations to the southward of Virginia: in his name I speak to you; and as the words you hear are his words, I hope you will listen to them with attention, and allow them to remain deeply impressed on your minds: they are calculated to promote not only your happiness, but that of your children, and children's children forever.

“When the great kings of Britain and France were at variance, the storms of war raged through this great forest; the Indian nations were divided, brothers against brothers, and your country was stained with blood; malice and revenge went forth; all paths were made crooked; and your land was covered with darkness. Now that it has pleased the Author of Life, to restore the blessings of light and peace, it is our duty to make a proper use and improvement of them. As fogs gathered in the night, are dispersed by the rising sun, so words dictated by the rage of war, should be forgotten in time of peace. The great king, full of wisdom and magnanimity, knows the frailty of his red children, and forgives their disobedience and rebellion: he extends his love to them all, even to those who lifted up the hatchet against him: to render them secure, he has resolved that the English and French shall be forever separated by the great river Mississippi, and that all nations on this side of it shall have him for their common father: he commands all the strife and enmity between his white and red children to cease, and expects that the allies of Britain will take those Indians, the former allies of France, by the hand, and live together like brethren of one family. That his white and red children may be near one another, and mutually supply each others wants, he has ordered some of his good subjects to come over the great waters, and live on the fruits of this land, which the Supreme Being made for the use of mankind in general. To open this friendly intercourse, I have invited you all to meet me at this place. and I rejoice that so many brothers are come to accept the royal favor and protection.

“Ye Chickesaw warriors, I speak to you, and I know your ears are open to my words. The great king regards you as children brought up in their father’s house, who from their infancy have been dutiful and obedient, and by that means merited what you have always enjoyed, his particular care and affection. While darkness surrounded you on every side, he has defended you from all those snares and dangers to which you

were exposed; now the day is clear and unclouded, your father continues to love you. The paths from your towns to all nations shall be made straight and plain, and nothing shall be permitted to hurt your feet; your children shall rejoice and grow up in safety, and your houses shall be filled with abundance of corn and venison: I am come to tell you the good news, and to see that justice be done you in all commercial dealings.

“In the next place I speak to you, ye warriors of the great party of the Choctaw nation. You were like sons separated from their father, and removed at a great distance from his protection; but by persisting in obedience you were entitled to his love. The great king always acknowledged you, but now he receives you into his family, and offers you all the favors and privileges of his sons. While you continue dutiful and obedient, the eyes of your father shall be upon you, and his hand shall be open to relieve your wants; under his care you shall enjoy all the blessings of peace and safety; you shall receive no injuries from friends, nor be exposed to any dangers from enemies; your arms shall be kept bright, your hunting lands no man shall be permitted to take from you, and there shall be abundance of corn about your villages.

“But as for you, ye Choctaw warriors of the six villages, you were like children early lost: while you were wandering out of the way, without knowing your brothers you blindly struck them. You found a father indeed, who adopted you, and you have long served him with zeal, and shown many proofs of your courage. You have received from your French father, such poor rewards for your services as he could bestow; but all the while you remained under his care you were hungry, naked and miserable. He gave you many fair words and promises, and having long deceived you, at last is obliged to leave you in your present forlorn and wretched condition. Now your true father has found you, and this day stretches forth his arms to receive you under his protection. He has forgotten your offences, he

knows your weakness and forgives your errors: he knows your wants and is disposed to relieve them. I have but one tongue, and always speak the truth, and as I bring good news, I hope my words will not be blown away by the wind. The great king is wise, generous and merciful; and I flatter myself with the hopes that you will never forget your obligations to his goodness.

“It is my duty to watch over Indians, and protect them against all manner of danger and oppression: for this purpose, my ears shall be always open to your complaints, and it shall be my study to redress your grievances. I must warn you to beware of all quarrels and outrages, by which you would certainly forfeit the royal favor, and plunge yourselves again into misery. I hope you will always observe my advice, and conduct yourselves accordingly, that I may be able to transmit good accounts of your behaviour to England. It is only by the permission of the great king that your wants can be supplied, and that traders can come into your villages with guns, powder, balls, knives, hatchets, flints, hoes, clothes and other necessities. These things you cannot make yourselves, and no other nation will be allowed to furnish you with them: therefore the great king has a right to expect your gratitude and obedience; for all he requires, is with a view to your own tranquillity and happiness.

“As you are all received into the family of the great king, it is expected that Indians will not only live in friendship and peace with white men, but also with one another: in imitation of his majesty’s good example, you must forget all injuries and offences, and throw aside all national jealousies and antipathies. The king expects that the great chieftains, to whom he has given medals and gorgets, will consider them not merely as ornaments, but as emblems of the high offices they bear, and the great trust reposed in them; all presents made you are in consideration of the good services expected from you: therefore, ye wise and great leaders, I expect you will use your authority like fathers, and restrain your young men from acts of

violence and injustice, and teach them that the only way to merit honor and preferment, is to be just, honest and peaceable; and that disgrace and punishment will be the consequences of disorderly practices, such as robbing plantations, and beating or abusing white people.

“Ye warriors who have no commissions, I speak to you also in the name of the king, and I hope you will reverence his authority and love your brethren. Listen at all times to your wise rulers, and be careful to follow their advice and example; by their wisdom and justice they have arrived at a high pitch of preferment, and stand distinguished by great and small medals: if, like them you wish to be great, like them you must first be good; you must respect them, as children do their father, yielding submission to their authority, and obedience to their commands: without the favor of your chiefs, you will neither get your wants supplied, nor reach the station of honor. An armourer will be sent into your nation, to clean and repair your rifles, but he will have instruction to mend arms for none but such as shall be recommended by their chief, it being proper that such leaders should have it in their power to distinguish those that are peaceable and obedient, from the obstinate and perverse.

“I am to inform you all, that I will send a beloved man into your towns, who will be vested with authority to hear and determine all differences between you and the traders; to deliver all messages from me to you, and all talks from you to me: and as he will come to promote your welfare and tranquillity, I hope you will receive him kindly, protect him against all insults, and assist him in the execution of his office.

“When the French governor took his leave of you, he advised you to look upon yourselves as the children of the king of Great Britain; the advice was good, I hope you will remember it forever. The great king has warriors numerous as the trees of the forest, and stands in no need of your assistance; but he desires your friendship and alliance to render you happy: he

loves peace and justice, but he will punish all murders and rebellion; be careful therefore, to keep your feet from the crooked and bloody path; shun all communication with Indian tribes who lift the hatchet against their white brethren; their talks, their calumets, their belts of wampum, and their tobacco, are all poisonous; if you receive them into your towns, be assured you will be infected with their madness, and be in danger of rushing into destruction: be cautious above all things, of permitting great quantities of rum to be brought into your villages; it poisons your body, enervates your mind, and from respectable warriors, turns you into furious madmen, who treat friends and enemies alike. Mark those persons, whether they be white or red, that bring rum among you, for bad men; who violate the laws, and have nothing else in view but to cheat, and render you despicable and wretched.

“Lastly—I inform you that it is the king’s order to all his governors and subjects, to treat Indians with justice and humanity, and to forbear all encroachments on the territories allotted for them. Accordingly, all individuals are prohibited from purchasing any of your lands; but as you know that your white brethren cannot feed you when you visit them, unless you give them grounds to plant, it is expected that you will cede lands to the king for that purpose: but whenever you shall be pleased to surrender any of your territories to his majesty, it must be done for the future at a public meeting of your nation, when the governors of the provinces, or the superintendent shall be present, and obtain the consent of all your people. The boundaries of your hunting grounds will be accurately fixed, and no settlement permitted to be made upon them: as you may be assured that all treaties with you will be faithfully kept, so it is expected that you also will be careful strictly to observe them. I have now done, and I hope you will remember the words I have spoken: time will soon discover to you the generosity, justice and goodness of the British nation. By the bounty of the king, and a well ordered trade with his subjects,

your houses will be filled with plenty, and your hearts with joy; you will see your men and women well clothed and fed, and your children growing up to honor you, and add strength to your nation; your peace and prosperity shall be established and continue from generation to generation."

The talents and vigilance of the superintendent of Indian affairs, promised a preservation of peace; and the province of Georgia now began to grow into importance. It was thought advisable however, to have a convention of the governors of the four southern provinces, and of the chiefs of all the nations on the frontiers. Lord Egremont, his majesty's principal secretary of state for the southern department, having been consulted, approved of the plan: accordingly the head men of the Catabaws, Cherokees, Choctaws, Chickesaws and Creeks, were invited to a general treaty, to be held at Augusta; which was attended by governors James Wright of Georgia, Thomas Boone of South-Carolina, Arthur Dobbs of North-Carolina, lieutenant-governor Francis Fauquier of Virginia, and captain John Steuart superintendent of Indian affairs, in the southern department. This treaty was concluded on the 10th of November 1763; and it was agreed that a farther acquisition of territory should be annexed to Georgia; the boundary to be settled by a line extending up Savannah and Little rivers, to the fork of the latter; thence to the head spring or source of the Ogechee river, and down the said river to Mount Pleasant; thence a line to be run direct to Saint-Savilla on the Alatamaha river; and thence in a direct line to the extremity of tide water on the river St. Mary's. The Cherokee and Creek nations of Indians, being indebted to the English Indian traders in greater sums than they could pay in peltries, and being desirous to discharge their debts, ceded and granted to the king this tract of country upon the frontiers of Georgia; that the same should be sold, and that the proceeds of the sale should be appropriated to the payment of their debts to these traders; and the governor and council were appointed by his Britannic majesty, to sell so much

of these lands as might be requisite to settle the respective claims of the traders, and discharge the same out of the produce of such sale, conformably to the design of the Indian grantors. I believe it may be said of Georgia, that there has been no instance in which lands have been forced from the Aborigines by conquest; and that in all cases, the Indians have expressed their entire satisfaction at the compensations which have been given them for acquisitions of territory.

After this treaty, which was extended to a settlement of all differences between the several Indian nations, as well as the provinces, Georgia remained undisturbed by war for a considerable time. The rapid progress of the colony strikingly appears by a comparison of its exports: in 1763 they consisted of only seven thousand five hundred barrels of rice; nine thousand six hundred and thirty-three pounds of indigo; twelve hundred and fifty bushels of corn; which together with deer skins, beaver fur, naval stores, provisions, timber, &c. amounted to no more than twenty-seven thousand and twenty-one pounds sterling. But in 1773, the province exported staple commodities to the value of one hundred and twenty-one thousand six hundred and seventy-seven pounds sterling; and the number of negroes was estimated at fourteen thousand.

In 1765, four additional parishes were laid off between the Alatomaha and St. Mary's rivers; which were called St. David's, St. Patrick's, St. Thomas's and St. Mary's.

It has been observed that the territory of Georgia was formerly included in a charter granted to South-Carolina: during that period, and previous to the granting of a charter for this province to the trustees, sir William Barker had obtained a grant for twelve thousand acres of land, from the lords proprietors of South-Carolina, near the Alatomaha. When general Oglethorpe's regiment was disbanded, each of the officers and soldiers had a certain portion of land allotted to him, as a reward for his good conduct, and compensation for his faithful services. These warrants were in many instances located within

the body of land granted to Barker, whose heirs had not exhibited a claim until the year 1770, when a number of farms had been opened upon the land at a considerable expense. A petition was presented to the king in council in behalf of the possessors, which was referred to the board of trade for their opinion: their report was unfavorable, and the prayer of the petition was not granted. These poor soldiers were obliged to purchase from the heirs of Barker, not only the land, but the value of the labor which they had bestowed in improvements and preparing it for cultivation: others who were unable to purchase, were compelled to relinquish the fruits of their labor to Barker's rich descendants, and settle elsewhere.

The rich lands at the head waters of great Ogechee and Oconee rivers, had drawn many settlers, and some of them had made improvements beyond the limits prescribed by the treaty of 1763. The jealousy of the Indian character, had not yet been well known, so far as related to the ideas they entertained of territorial rights: it had been a maxim among them, that all property found upon their lands, was of right, the property of those who claimed the territory; this maxim applied to horses and cattle, as well as wild beasts of the forest. The Creek nation complained of these encroachments to governor Wright, and remarked, that if he could not restrain the white people, how could it be expected of them to govern their young warriors. When the Indians had finished their autumnal hunt, about the 1st of October, they stole several horses which they found upon their own land, to carry home their meat, and the goods which they had received in exchange for their peltry: about the same time the store of Lemmons, which had been established at Traders-hill, on St. Mary's river, was attacked by a party of Creek Indians; Lemmons and his assistants, finding themselves overpowered by numbers, fled and left their store in possession of the savages, who carried off the goods, and burned the houses. A party of white men collected on Ogechee, pursued the Indians to their towns, retook their horses, and re-

munerated themselves for other losses which they had sustained, and burned all the houses in their towns. The chiefs came to Savannah and communicated these circumstances to governor Wright, who thought it best to compensate the Indians for the loss of their houses, and the superintendent compelled the Indians to restore Lemmons his goods: by these placid measures, the consequences which might have been expected, were removed, and peace was restored.

Alexander Cameron, a Scotchman, had been appointed deputy-superintendent in the Cherokee nation. This tribe had also shewn some discontents arising from encroachments on land claimed by them as hunting grounds, to the north-west of Little river, afterwards Wilkes county; and similar complaints were made against encroachments in Carolina, upon a creek called Long-Cane.—Steuart directed Cameron to make a visit to the governor in Charleston, and to invite some of the chiefs to accompany him: this visit drew some presents from the governor, and had the desired effect.

On the 27th of October, at the annual meeting of the general assembly of Georgia, governor Wright communicated to the upper house, the instructions of his majesty, requiring implicit obedience to the *mutiny act*; and desired that those provisions should be made for supplying the king's troops, which by that act they were directed to do. James Habersham, president of the upper house, signified the determination of that branch of the assembly, to comply with the law. A similar communication was made to the lower house, of which Alexander Wyly was speaker: that branch of the assembly resolved to provide a sum not exceeding two hundred pounds sterling, for supplying his majesty's troops doing duty in this province, with the following articles; to wit, firewood, candles, vinegar, salt, bedding, cooking utensils, and small-beer or cyder, not exceeding five pints, or half a pint of rum, or in lieu thereof three-pence sterling *per diem*, to each man respectively: and also to defray the expense of providing necessary carriages for the said troops

on their march through any part of the province, and for the hire of barns and out-houses for their lodgement, in such places where there were no barracks. This law was to commence its operation on the first day of November thereafter, and to continue in force for one year, and to be raised and granted in the next general tax bill. The governor thanked the assembly for the promptitude with which his communication had been complied with. These measures were adopted under the pressure of necessity rather than free will: the colonies being tenacious of their liberties, and jealous of their rights, the rulers of the mother country, found it necessary to be cautious in exercising their power. The government was not only mixed but dependent, which circumstance occasioned a peculiarity in its form of a very delicate nature. When oppressions and dissatisfactions were permitted to accumulate, and the governed allowed occasionally to throw off a part of the load, it was to be expected that they would soon do more: the rights of the people therefore required immediate consideration and redress. The petitions which had been presented to the king, were not attended to by the minister, and it was recommended to the colonies, to appoint agents to superintend their demands for redress. Accordingly, at the meeting of the general assembly at Savannah in April, a resolution to that effect was entered into, and doctor Benjamin Franklin was appointed agent for the colony of Georgia, at the court of Great Britain: in his acceptance of this appointment, he warmly recommends a peaceable, prudent, firm and animated conduct in the management of public affairs; by which means they would support the character of freemen without losing that of faithful subjects; and would prove that the Americans possessed that true magnanimity which could resent injuries without becoming outrageous, and that they knew what was due to themselves and their posterity, as well as to the mother country: and thus they might advance their interest and reputation, and convince the world of the justice of their demands and the purity of their inten-

tions. These measures all mankind would applaud, and confess that those deserved liberty, who so well understood its value, so passionately loved it, and who so temperately, wisely and virtuously asserted, maintained and defended it. With these correct impressions, doctor Franklin embarked for England.

When the offensive stamp act of the 22nd of March 1765, received the royal assent in England, it produced a tumult in every province in America, and nothing but the repeal of it could heal the wound which was anticipated from its operation. This was succeeded by the revival of another act, equally offensive, for quartering his majesty's forces on the inhabitants, and supplying them in their quarters, and furnishing carriages on marches and other necessary occasions, and that when ever any troops should march through, or be stationed in any place in North America, no expense was to be brought upon the crown. These, with other mortifying and offensive grievances, were in many instances imposed upon the provinces, without their approbation or consent. But such was the disposition of Great Britain, that while we were supplicating relief from one act of oppression, two or three others were substituted in its stead.

A letter was received from the speaker of the assembly of Massachusetts, desiring a union of the provinces in opposition to the oppressive acts of Great Britain; to which the following answer was written:—

“Province of Georgia, 16 June, 1768.

Sir—Your respected favor of the 11th of February, came to hand only a few days since. I am sorry it is not in my power to give you so full and satisfactory an answer thereto as the importance of the subject requires. The members of the present assembly of this province, have but lately been elected; and though the writs were returnable and the house required to meet the first of this month, yet our governor thought proper, prior

thereto, to prorogue the assembly until November. For this reason, sir, I can only reply to your favor as a private person, or late speaker, and inform you that before the dissolution of the last assembly, the house took under consideration, the several late acts of parliament for imposing taxes and duties on the American colonies; and being sensibly affected thereby, ordered the committee of correspondence, to instruct our provincial agent, Mr. Benjamin Franklin, to join earnestly with the other colonies' agents, in soliciting a repeal of those acts, and in remonstrating against any acts of the like nature for the future. These instructions has been transmitted to Mr. Franklin, and I have no doubt but he will punctually observe them. When the assembly meet, I will lay your favor before the house, and I am sure that such measures will be pursued, in consequence thereof, as will manifest their regard for constitutional liberty, and their respect for the house of representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, whose wise and spirited conduct is so justly admired.

I am, Sir, &c.

ALEXANDER WYLLY."

At a meeting of the legislature in the province of Georgia, in February 1770, they took into consideration the rights which the parliament of Great-Britain claimed, to bind the people of America by statutes in all cases, and their imposition of taxes on the Americans under various pretences, but in truth for the purpose of raising a revenue; and to bend the necks of the colonists for the yoke which Great-Britain was preparing for them: and their establishing of a board of commissioners with unconstitutional powers, and extending the jurisdiction of courts of admiralty, not only for collecting the duties imposed by these acts, but for trial of causes arising within the body of a county. Standing armies were also kept up in America, in time of profound peace; and by the revival of a statute made in the thirty-fifth year of Henry the eighth, colonists might be transported to England, and tried there upon

accusations for treasons, or misprisions or concealments of treason, committed in the colonies; and by a late statute, such trials had been directed in cases therein mentioned: and that the governor had frequently taken upon himself to dissolve the assemblies, contrary to the rights of the people, when they attempted to deliberate on grievances, in conformity to the custom of their ancestors, for ascertaining and vindicating their rights and liberties. In consequence of these infringements, the house of assembly made the following declarations.

“Firstly—That the inhabitants of the English colonies in North America, by the immutable laws of nature, the principles of the English constitution, and the several charters or compacts, have the following rights.

“Secondly—That they are entitled to life, liberty and property, and they have never ceded to any sovereign power whatever, a right to dispose of either, without their consent.

“Thirdly—That our ancestors who first settled these colonies, were at the time of their emigration from the mother country, entitled to all the rights, liberties and immunities of free and natural born subjects, within the realm of England.

“Fourthly—That by such emigration, they by no means forfeited, surrendered, or lost any of those rights; but that they were and their descendants now are entitled to the exercise and enjoyment of all such of them, as their local and other circumstances enable them to exercise and enjoy.

“Fifthly—That the foundation of English liberty and free government, is a right of the people to participate in the legislative council: and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot properly be represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation, in their several provincial legislatures; where their right of representation can alone be preserved in all cases of taxation and internal policy; subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed: but from the

necessity of the case and a regard to the mutual interest of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of the British parliament as are *bona fide* restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent.

“Sixthly—That the respective colonies are entitled to the common law of England, and more especially to the great and inestimable privilege of being tried by their peers of the vicinage, according to the course of that law.

“Seventhly—That they are entitled to the benefit of such of the English statutes as existed at the time of their colonization, and which they have by experience, respectively found to be applicable to their several local and other circumstances.

“Eightly—That his majesty’s colonies are likewise entitled to all the immunities and privileges granted and confirmed to them by royal charters, or secured by their several codes of provincial laws.

“Ninthly—That they have a right peaceably to assemble and consider of their grievances, and petition the king; and that all prosecutions, prohibitory proclamations, and commitments for the same, are illegal.

“Tenthly—That the keeping a standing army in the colonies in times of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

“Eleventhly—And as it is indispensably necessary to good government, and rendered essential by the English constitution, that the constituent branches of the legislature be independent of each other—

“Resolved—That the exercise of legislative power in any colony by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, may prove dangerous and destructive to the freedom of Ameri-

can legislation: all and each of which, the commons of Georgia in general assembly met, do claim, demand and insist on, as their indubitable rights and liberties, which cannot be legally taken from them, altered or abridged, by any power whatever, without their consent.

“And whereas there are many infringements and violations of the foregoing rights, which from an ardent desire that harmony and mutual intercourse of affection and interest, may be restored, we pass over for the present, and proceed to state such acts and measures as have been adopted since the close of the last war; which demonstrate a system formed to enslave America.

“Resolved—That the following acts of parliament are infringements and violations of the rights of the colonies, and that the repeal of them is essentially necessary, in order to restore harmony between Great-Britain and the American colonies—viz. The several acts in vol. IV, Geo. the third, ch. 15 and ch. 34—vol. V, Geo. the third, ch. 25—vol. VI, Geo. the third, ch. 52—vol. VII, Geo. the third, ch. 41, and ch. 46—vol. VIII, Geo. the third, ch. 22, which impose duties for the purposes of raising a revenue in America; extend the powers of the admiralty courts beyond their ancient limits; deprive the American subjects of trial by jury; authorise the judge’s certificate to indemnify the prosecutor from damages that he might otherwise be liable to; requiring oppressive security from a claimant of ships and goods seized, before he shall be allowed to defend his property: and are subversive of American rights. Also vol. XII, Geo. the third, chap. 24, entitled an act for the better securing his majesty’s dock yards, magazines, ships, ammunition and stores, which declares a new offence in America, and deprives the American subjects of a constitutional trial by jury of the vicinage, by authorising the trial of any person charged with committing any offence described in the said act out of the realm, to be indicted and tried for the same in any shire or county within the realm. Also the three acts passed in the

last session of parliament for the stopping the port, and blocking up the harbour of Boston; for altering the charter and government of Massachusetts Bay, and that which is entitled an act for the better administration of justice, &c. Also the act passed in the same session for establishing the Roman Catholic religion in the province of Quebec, and abolishing the Episcopal system of English laws, and erecting a tyranny there to the great danger, from so total a dissimilarity of religion, law, and government, to the neighboring British colonies, by the assistance of whose blood and treasure, the said country was conquered from France. Also the act passed in the same session, for the better providing suitable quarters for officers and soldiers in his majesty's service in North-America. Also that the keeping a standing army in several of the colonies in time of peace, without the consent of the legislature of that colony in which such army is kept, is against law.

“Resolved—that this house do present their most grateful acknowledgments to those truly noble, honorable and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who have so generously and powerfully, though unsuccessfully, espoused and defended the cause of America, both in and out of parliament.

“Resolved—That the thanks of this house be given to the members of the late continental congress, for their wise and able exertions in the cause of American liberty.

“Resolved That,, be deputies to represent this province in the intended American continental congress, proposed to be held at the city of Philadelphia on the 10th of May next, or at any other place or time, as may hereafter be agreed on by the said congress.

“Ordered—That Mr. Speaker do transmit a copy of the above resolution to the honorable Peyton Randolph esquire, president of the said congress.”

As may be supposed, these resolutions did not correspond with the political wishes of governor Wright. Copies were transmitted to the other provinces, and to doctor Franklin in

London. Similar resolutions, in substance, were received by doctor Jones, the speaker, from almost every province in America. Doctor Franklin in his letters to the speaker, observed that parliament had risen without repealing the duties which had been so generally complained of, but that the ministry had assured him that the affairs in America had lately been considered in council, that it was the unanimous opinion, that no new acts for the purpose of raising a revenue in America would be passed, and that it was the full intention of his majesty's servants, to propose early in the ensuing session, the repeal of the duties on glass, paper, and painters' colours. He had little hopes of attaining all that he desired, or all that ought to have been granted at once, but the giving ground in some degree had a good aspect, and afforded room to hope, that gradually, every obstruction to that cordial amity so necessary for the welfare of the whole empire, would be removed: he thought it would be better if these things could be effected at once, but that it was too much to expect, considering the pride natural to so great a nation; the prejudices that had so universally prevailed with regard to the point of right, and the resentment arising from the resistance of the American provinces. About this time a war with Spain was considered inevitable; and a disposition to accommodate amicably all differences with the colonies, began to show itself more strongly among persons in power, and the American agent thought it good policy to cultivate as much as possible that disposition: France however, being unwilling to join Spain in the contest, she thought it policy to smother her inclination for war.

Late in the year 1770, the board of trade in England had instructed governor Wright to consent to an act for electing representatives in the four parishes south of Alatomaha. The deputy-secretary of state, had been required to give evidence before the house of representatives, but he questioned the power which the house had exercised, and refused compliance; in consequence of which he was committed to prison. The governor

refused to notice the proceedings of the house, on the grounds of their being illegal; alledging that he had not sanctioned a representation from those parishes; and he was highly displeased with the power which had been assumed by them, in the imprisonment of the deputy-secretary. These circumstances, together with the evident disposition of a large majority of the members to support the resolutions entered into the preceding session, induced the governor to resort to the extraordinary expedient of dissolving the assembly. The governor contended that the house of commons had not a right to extend commitments beyond the members of their own body. On a similar occasion, the king of England was so far from dissolving the house for exercising or insisting on this privilege, that on the contrary, he rather stretched his prerogative and lent his aid to the commons, by issuing a proclamation, directing the contumacious persons to be apprehended, and offered a reward for taking them. The king of England at that day, would not have ventured on the exercise of so much power: but the provincial governors took greater liberties, having naturally no respect for the people, but a great abundance for ministers. Doctor Franklin supposed that it was by the arbitrary proceedings of provincial governors and other crown officers, countenanced by their protectors in England, that the affections of the Americans to the mother country were daily diminishing; and their attachment to its government, in danger of being lost in the course of a few succeeding years.

Governor Wright embarked for England on the 2nd of July 1771, and did not return to Georgia until the 11th of February 1773. During his absence, James Habersham, president of the council, exercised the executive functions.

In 1772, a change was made in the ministry, from which it was hoped that America would derive some advantages, as a change could scarcely be made less favorable to the interest of the provinces. From the character of lord Dartmouth it was expected that he would oppose the arbitrary proceedings which

had disgraced the former administration: but these pleasing anticipations were not realized.

Corresponding committees were nominated in all the colonies, and the crisis approached, when it was necessary for them to decide, whether they would submit to taxation by the British parliament, or make a stand for the support of their principles and meet the consequences.

It was not the author's intention in this volume, to trespass upon the bounds of the revolutionary war, which produced an entire alteration in the affairs of this province, changed the form of its government from regal to representative, and united it with the other colonies in the establishment of freedom and independence.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE LIFE OF

GENERAL OGLETHORPE.

JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE, was the son of sir Theophilus Oglethorpe of Godalmen in the county of Surry, lieutenant-colonel of the duke of York's troop of the king's horse-guards, a major-general of the army, and a member of parliament, by Eleanora his wife, daughter of Richard Wall of Ragane, in Ireland. He was born in the parish of St. James's the 21st of December 1698:* his father and two of his brothers being in the army, he was educated with a view to that profession, which he afterwards embraced. He was appointed an ensign in 1711, and in 1713 performed duty with that rank, at the proclamation of the peace at Utrecht. He was promoted to a captain-lieutenancy of the queen's guards in 1715: he afterwards employed himself in acquiring the art of war, under the famous prince Eugene, and other eminent commanders. He

* In 1707, a pamphlet was published in England, entitled *Frances Shaftoe's narrative*, containing an account of her being a servant in sir Theophilus Oglethorpe's family; and with all the illiterate simplicity of her station, states that the pretended prince of Wales was sir Theophilus's son; that she was sent to France and barbarously used to make her turn papist and nun, in order to prevent a discovery, but she made her escape to Switzerland, and from thence returned to England. She says, "Ann Oglethorpe told me that the first pretended prince of Wales died of convulsion fits at the age of five or six weeks; but her mother had a little son some days older than the prince, and her mother took her little brother James, all in haste, and went to London, that her little brother and the prince were both sick together, and her little brother died, *or was lost*, but that it was a secret between her mother and queen Mary." It is something extraordinary, if true, that there is no record of Oglethorpe's birth on the parish register, in conformity with a long established custom of Great-Britain; and I am indebted to the *Encyclopædia Perthensis*, and the journal of a private gentleman in Georgia, where his birth day was celebrated, for the date which I have inserted.

was patronized by the dukes of Argyle and Marlborough, by whose recommendations he acted as secretary and aid-de-camp to the prince, though at an early period of life, and stored up much useful knowledge. It was said that he was offered some preferment in the German service, where he might have acquired the station which his companion, marshal Keith, afterwards obtained: but with a man of his sentiments, the obligations due to his country, and the services it required, were not to be dispensed with.

From the time of prince Eugene's campaigns, the pacific disposition of the powers of Europe, prevented the exercise of Oglethorpe's military talents for a considerable time: at length a field was opened in the western world, where he had an opportunity of displaying them, and giving evidence of the feelings of his heart.

He was appointed colonel of a regiment the 25th of August 1737, with the rank of general and commander in chief over all the king's forces in Georgia and South-Carolina. It is said that he commanded the first regular force that was ever stationed in America, and that he was the first general to whom a chief command had been given over two provinces. He was appointed brigadier-general in the British army, the 30th of March 1745, and major-general, the 13th of September 1747. He was elected member of parliament for Haslemere in Surry, in 1722, 1727, 1734, 1741 and 1747; and during that period many regulations in the laws of England, for the benefit of trade and for the public weal generally, were proposed and promoted by him. In 1728, finding a gentleman, to whom he paid a visit in the Fleet prison, loaded with irons and otherwise barbarously used, he engaged in a philanthropic inquiry into the state of the prisoners and gaols in England; where upon investigation, facts, disgraceful to humanity, were developed. He moved in the house of commons, that a committee should be appointed to inquire into the state of the prisoners confined in the gaols of Great-Britain. A committee was accordingly ap-

pointed, and Oglethorpe who was its chairman, reported in 1729, several resolutions, which induced the house to attempt a redress of many flagrant abuses.

Oglethorpe suggested a project for the consideration of a number of gentlemen, principally members of parliament, who lately had occasion to observe the miserable condition of prisoners, confined in gaols for debt: moved with compassion for their relief, they judged that if they were settled in some of the new colonies in North America, they might, instead of being a burthen and disgrace, be made beneficial to the nation.

On the 15th of July 1732, he was vested with the functions of governor of Georgia, and in the ten succeeding years he crossed the Atlantic ocean six times, without fee or hope of reward, to forward his laudable design of settling the province. When he returned to England for the last time, in 1743, he took with him an Indian boy, son of one of the chiefs, who received a pretty liberal education and returned to Georgia a polished man; and when he went into the Creek nation, considerable expectations were entertained from his influence in planting the seeds of civilization amongst his countrymen; but he soon returned to his native habits.

General Oglethorpe, complimented colonel Noble Jones with his portrait in a neat frame, representing his Indian pupil standing by his side reading: it was lost when Savannah was captured by the British forces in December 1778.

In 1745, he accompanied the duke of Cumberland into Scotland, which was his last military expedition. On the 29th of August 1744, he married Eliza,* daughter of sir Nathan Wright, bart. an heiress.

* Verses enclosed to a lady in Charleston, soon after Oglethorpe's marriage; who inquired when he would return to America.

“The fairest of Diana’s train,
For whom so many sigh’d in vain,
Has bound him in her silken chain,
From whence he’ll ne’er get loose again.

At the commencement of the American revolution, General Oglethorpe, being the senior officer of sir William Howe, and now grown old in military fame without sullyng his laurels, had the prior offer of the command of the forces apointed to subdue the colonies. He agreed to accept the appointment on condition the ministry would authorise him to assure the colonies, that justice should be done them. His proposal at once appeared the result of humanity and equity; he declared that—"He knew the "people of America well; that they never would be subdued by arms, but that their obedience would ever be secured by doing them justice."* A man with these ideas was not a fit instrument for the designs of the British government: he was therefore, agreeably to his own request, permitted to remain at home, where he was a quiet spectator of the folly of his country through a seven years war with the colonies.

General Oglethorpe passed the eve of his life in easy retirement, at the seat of his wife at Grantham hall, in Essex, where he died the 30th of June, 1785, in the 87th year of his age. He had been seventy-four years in the British army, and at his

The son of *Jove* and *Venus* knew,
Who bravely fought, could nobly woo,
And howsoe'er he dared in fight,
Was fore'd to yield to lovely *Wright*.

Both charming, graceful, equal, fair,
Love glorying in so bright a pair;
Fortune and nature both together,
Have left no vacant wish for either.

He, noble, generous and brave;
She, all the virtues wise men crave,
With manly judgment too beside,
As e'er made hero happy bride.

Help, youths and virgins, help to sing,
The prize which *Hymen* now does bring:
I too my feeble voice will raise;
To name but *Oglethorpe*, is praise."

* British Annual Register.

death, he was said to have been the oldest officer in the king's service. His moderation and the simplicity of his whole deportment, his prudence, virtue, delight in doing good, real regard to merit, unaffected simplicity in all his actions, great knowledge and experience, generous care and concern for his fellow creatures, his mercy and benevolence, will admit of but few parallels in the history of human life.

More can be said of general Oglethorpe, than of the subject of any other prince in Europe: he founded the province of Georgia in America; he lived to see it flourish, and become of consequence to the commerce of Great Britain; he saw it in a state of resistance, and at length beheld it independent of its mother country; and of great political importance in one quarter of the globe.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

OF THE LIFE OF

LADY HUNTINGDON

SELINA SHIRLEY, countess-dowager of Huntingdon, merits particular notice in the history of Georgia. This eminently pious lady, the second daughter of Washington Shirley, the second earl of Ferrars, was born in 1707, and married Theophilus earl of Huntingdon in 1728, by whom she had four sons and three daughters. After a dangerous illness she was impressed with a serious turn of mind, and on her recovery she devoted her whole time, fortune and attention, to religion and charity; to the utter astonishment of all the fine ladies of the gay fashionable world. She became the generous patroness of the celebrated preacher Mr. Whitefield, and the calvinistic methodists in general: she opened her house in Park-street, London, for the preaching of the gospel, and erected chapels in various parts of the kingdom: she also built and endowed a college in Wales, for the purpose of educating serious young men for the ministry. She left a large donation to the Orphan-house in Georgia, and aided Mr. Whitefield considerably in founding that laudable institution. It is said that at different periods of her life, she appropriated at least one hundred thousand pounds sterling for the propagation of the gospel, and to institutions for the relief of the poor. A portrait of that amiable woman as large as life, is still preserved by the commissioners of the Orphan-house. Her labors through life were unwearied, her charities and liberality extensive, and her whole deportment humble, meek and pious: she died in 1791, in the eighty-fourth year of her age.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.—Refer to page 8.

GEORGE the second, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, and so forth. To all to whom these presents shall come, greeting.

Whereas we are credibly informed, that many of our poor subjects are, through misfortunes and want of employment, reduced to great necessity, insomuch as by their labor they are not able to provide a maintenance for themselves and families; and if they had means to defray their charges of passage, and other expences, incident to new settlements, they would be glad to settle in any of our provinces in America; whereas by cultivating the lands, at present waste and desolate, they might not only gain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and families, but also strengthen our colonies and increase the trade, navigation and wealth of these our realms. And whereas our provinces in North America, have been frequently ravaged by Indian enemies; more especially that of South-Carolina, which in the late war, by the neighboring savages, was laid waste by fire and sword, and great numbers of English inhabitants, miserably massacred, and our living subjects who now inhabit them, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, will in case of a new war, be exposed to the late calamities; inasmuch as their whole southern frontier continueth unsettled, and lieth open to the said savages—And whereas we think it highly becoming our crown and royal dignity, to protect all our loving subjects, be they never so distant from us; to extend our fatherly compassion even to the meanest and most infatuated of our people, and to relieve the wants of our above mentioned poor subjects; and that it will be highly conducive for accomplishing those ends, that a regular colony of the said poor people be settled and established in the southern territories of Carolina. And whereas we have been well assured, that if we will be graciously pleased

to erect and settle a corporation, for the receiving, managing and disposing of the contributions of our loving subjects; divers persons would be induced to contribute to the purposes aforesaid—Know ye therefore, that we have, for the considerations aforesaid, and for the better and more orderly carrying on of the said good purposes; of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, willed, ordained, constituted and appointed, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do will, ordain, constitute, declare and grant, that our right trusty and well beloved John lord-viscount Purcival, of our kingdom of Ireland, our trusty and well beloved Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Tower, Robert Moore, Robert Hucks, Roger Holland, William Sloper, Francis Eyles, John Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, esquires, A. M. John Burton, B. D. Richard Bundy, A. M. Arthur Bedford, A. M. Samuel Smith, A. M. Adam Anderson and Thomas Corane, gentlemen; and such other persons as shall be elected in the manner herein after mentioned, and their successors to be elected in the manner herein after directed; be, and shall be one body politic and corporate, in deed and in name, by the name of the Trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America; and them and their successors by the same name, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, really and fully make, ordain, constitute and declare, to be one body politic in deed and in name forever; and that by the same name, they and their successors, shall and may have perpetual succession; and that they and their successors by that name shall and may forever hereafter, be persons able and capable in the law, to purchase, have, take, receive and enjoy, to them and their successors, any manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, advowsons, liberties, privileges, jurisdictions, franchises, and other hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in Great Britain, or any part thereof, of whatsoever nature, kind or quality, or value they be, in fee and in perpetuity, not exceeding the yearly value of one thousand pounds, beyond re-

prises ; also estates for lives, and for years, and all other manner of goods, chattels and things whatsoever they be ; for the better settling and supporting, and maintaining the said colony, and other uses aforesaid ; and to give, grant, let and demise the said manors, messuages, lands, tenements, hereditaments, goods, chattels and things whatsoever aforesaid, by lease or leases, for term of years, in possession at the time of granting thereof, and not in reversion, not exceeding the term of thirty-one years, from the time of granting thereof ; on which in case no fine be taken, shall be reserved the full, and in case a fine be taken, shall be reserved at least a moiety of the value that the same shall reasonably and *bona fide* be worth at the time of such demise ; and that they and their successors, by the name aforesaid, shall and may forever hereafter, be persons able, capable in the law, to purchase, have, take, receive and enjoy, to them and their successors, any lands, territories, possessions, tenements, jurisdictions, franchises and hereditaments whatsoever, lying and being in America, of what quantity, quality or value whatsoever they be, for the better settling and supporting and maintaining the said colony ; and that by the name aforesaid they shall and may be able to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, answer and be answered unto, defend and be defended, in all courts and places whatsoever, and before whatsoever judges, justices, and other officers, of us, our heirs and successors, in all and singular actions, complaints, pleas, matters, suits and demands, of what kind, nature or quality soever they be ; and to act and to do, all matters and things in as ample manner and form as any other our liege subjects of this realm of Great Britain, and that they and their successors forever hereafter, shall and may have a common seal, to serve for the causes and businesses of them and their successors ; and that it shall and may be lawful for them and their successors, to change, break, alter and make new the said seal, from time to time, and at their pleasure, and as they shall think best. And we do further grant, for us, our heirs and successors, that the said corporation, and the common

council of the said corporation, hereinafter by us appointed, may from time to time, and at all times, meet about their affairs when and where they please, and transact and carry on the business of the said corporation. And for the better execution of the purposes aforesaid, we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, that they and their successors forever, may upon the third tuesday in the month of March, yearly, meet at some convenient place to be appointed by the said corporation, or major part of them who shall be present at any meeting of the said corporation, to be held for the appointing of the said place; and that they, or two thirds of such of them, that may be present at such yearly meeting, and at no other meeting of the said corporation, between the hours of ten in the morning and four in the afternoon of the same day, choose and elect such person or persons to be members of the said corporation, as they shall think beneficial to the good designs of the said corporation. And our further will and pleasure is, that if it shall happen that any persons hereinafter by us appointed as the common council of the said corporation, or any other persons to be elected or admitted members of the said common council in the manner hereafter directed, shall die, the common council shall be increased to twenty-four; and that the same assembly at which such additional members of the said corporation shall be chosen, there shall likewise be elected, in the manner herein before directed for the election of common council-men, nine persons to be the said common council-men, and to make up the number twenty-four. And our further will and pleasure is, that our trusty and well beloved Edward Digby, esquire, shall be the first chairman of the common council of the said corporation; and that the said lord-viscount Purcival shall be, and continue, president of the said corporation, and that the said Edward Digby shall be and continue chairman of the common council of the said corporation, respectively, until the meeting which shall be had next and immediately after the first meeting of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said cor-

poration respectively, and no longer; at which said second meeting, and every other subsequent and future meeting of the said corporation or of the common council of the said corporation respectively, in order to preserve an indifferent relation of the several offices, of president of the corporation, and of chairman of the common council of the said corporation we do direct and ordain that all and every the person and persons, members of the said common council for the time being, and no other, being present at such meetings, shall severally and respectively in their turns, preside at the meetings which shall from time to time be held of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation respectively: and in case any doubt or question shall at any time arise touching or concerning the right of any member of the said common council to preside at any meeting of the said corporation, or at the common council of the said corporation, the same shall respectively be determined by the major part of the said corporation respectively, who shall be present at such meeting. Provided always, that no member of the said common council having served in the offices of president of the said corporation, or of chairman of the common council of the said corporation, shall be capable of being, or of serving as president or chairman at any meeting of the said corporation, or common council of the said corporation next and immediately ensuing that in which he so served as president of the said corporation or chairman of the said common council of the said corporation respectively; unless it shall so happen that at any such meeting of the said corporation, there shall not be any other member of the said common council present. And our will and pleasure is, that at all and every of the meetings of the said corporation, or of the common council of the said corporation, the president or chairman for the time being, shall have a voice and shall vote, and shall act as a member of the said corporation, at such meeting; and in case of any equality of votes, the said president or chairman for the time being, shall have a casting vote. And our further will and

pleasure is, that no president of the said corporation, or chairman of the common council of the said corporation, or member of the said common council or corporation, by us by these presents appointed, or hereafter from time to time to be elected and appointed in manner aforesaid, shall have, take, or receive, directly or indirectly, any salary, fee, perquisite, benefit or profit whatsoever, for or by reason of his or their serving the said corporation, or president, chairman or common councilmen, or as being a member of the said corporation. And our will and pleasure is, that the said herein before appointed president, chairman or common councilmen, before he and they act respectively as such, shall severally take an oath for the faithful and due execution of their trust, to be administered to the president by the chief baron of our court of exchequer, for the time being, and by the president of the said corporation to the rest of the common council, who are hereby authorised severally and respectively, to administer the same. And our will and pleasure is, that all and every person and persons, who shall have in his or their own name or names, or in the name or names of any person or persons in trust for him or them, or for his or their benefit, place, office or employment or profit, under the said corporation, shall be incapable of being elected a member of the said corporation; during such time as he shall be continued a member thereof, shall in his own name or in the name of any person or persons, in trust for him or for his benefit, have, hold or exercise, accept, possess or enjoy, any office, place or employment of profit under the said corporation, or under the common council of the said corporation—such member shall from the time of his having, holding, exercising, possessing and enjoying such office, place and employment of profit, cease to be a member of the said corporation. And we do for us, our heirs and successors, or the major part of such of them as shall be present at any meeting of the said corporation, convened and assembled for that purpose by a convenient notice thereof, shall have power from time to time, hereafter to authorize and appoint

such persons as they shall think fit to take subscriptions, and to gather and collect such money as shall be by any person or persons contributed for the purpose aforesaid; and shall and may revoke and make void such authorities and appointments, as often as they shall see cause so to do. And we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and direct, that the said corporation every year lay an account in writing before the chancellor, speaker, or commissioners, for the custody of the great seal of Great Britain, of us, our heirs and successors; and the chief justice of the court of common pleas, and the chief of the exchequer of our heirs and successors for the time being, or any two of them; of all monies and effects by them received or expended, for the carrying on the good purposes aforesaid. And we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant unto the said corporation, and their successors, full power and authority to constitute, ordain and make, such and so many by-laws, institutions, orders and ordinances, as to them, or the greater part of them, at their general meeting for that purpose, shall deem necessary and convenient for the well ordaining and governing of the said corporation; and the said by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, or any of them, to alter and annul, as they or the major part shall see requisite: and in and by such by-laws, rules, orders and ordinances, to sell, impose and inflict, reasonable pains and penalties upon any offender or offenders, who shall transgress, break or violate the said by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, so made as aforesaid, and to mitigate the same as they or the major part of them then present shall think convenient; which said pains and penalties, shall and may be levied, sued for, taken, retained and recovered, by the said corporation and their successors, by their officers and servants, from time to time, to be appointed for that purpose, by action of debt, or by any other lawful ways or means, to the use and behoof of the said corporation and their successors, all and singular: which by-laws, constitutions, orders and ordinances, pains and penalties, from time to time so made and imposed,

and reasonable and not contrary or repugnant to the laws or statutes of this our realm; and that such by-laws, constitutions and ordinances, pains and penalties, from time to time to be made and imposed, and any repeal or alteration thereof, or any of them, may be likewise agreed to or established and confirmed by the said general meeting of the said corporation, to be held and kept next after the same shall be respectively made. And whereas the said corporation intend to settle a colony, and to make an habitation and plantation on that part of our province of South-Carolina, in America, herein after described—Know ye, that we greatly desiring the happy success of the said corporation, for their further encouragement in accomplishing so excellent a work have of our foresaid grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, given and granted by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant to the said corporation and their successors under the reservation, limitation and declaration, hereafter expressed, seven undivided parts, the whole in eight equal parts to be divided, of all those lands, country and territories, situate, lying and being in that part of South-Carolina, in America, which lies from the most northern part of a stream or river there, commonly called the Savannah, all along the sea coast to the southward, to the southern stream of a certain other great water or river called the Alatamaha, and westwardly from the heads of the said rivers respectively, in direct lines to the south seas; and all that share, circuit and precinct of land, within the said boundaries, with the islands on the sea, lying opposite to the eastern coast of the said lands, within twenty leagues of the same, which are not inhabited already, or settled by any authority derived from the crown of Great-Britain: together with all the soils, grounds, havens, ports, gulfs and bays, mines, as well royal mines of gold and silver, as other minerals, precious stones, quarries, woods, rivers, waters, fishings, as well royal fishings of whale and sturgeon as other fishings, pearls, commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, franchises, privileges and pre-eminences, within the said frontiers and the

precincts thereof and thereunto, in any sort belonging and appertaining, and which we by our letters patent may or can grant, and in as ample manner and sort as we may or any our royal progenetors have hitherto granted to any company, body politic or corporate, or to any adventurer or adventurers, undertaker or undertakers, of any discoveries, plantation or traffic, of, in, or into any foreign port whatsoever; and in as legal and ample manner, as if the same were herein particularly mentioned and expressed: to have, hold, possess and enjoy, the said seven undivided parts, the whole into eight equal parts, to be divided as aforesaid, of all and singular the lands, countries and territories, with all and singular other the premises herein before by these presents granted or mentioned, or intended to be granted to them, the said corporation, and their successors forever, for the better support of the said colony, to be holden of us, our heirs and successors, as of our honorable....., of Hampton-court, of our courts of Middlesex in free and commons socage, and not in capite, yielding, and paying therefor to us, our heirs and successors yearly forever, the sum of eleven shillings for every hundred acres of the said lands, which the said corporation shall grant, demise, plant or settle; the said payment not to commence or to be made, until ten years after such grant, demise, planting or settling; and to be answered and paid to us, our heirs and successors, in such manner and in such species of money or notes, as shall be current in payment, by proclamation from time to time in our said province of South-Carolina. All which lands, countries, territories and premises, hereby granted or mentioned, and intended to be granted, we do by these presents, make, erect and create one independent and separate province, by the name of Georgia, by which name we will, the same henceforth be called. And that all and every person or persons, who shall at any time hereafter inhabit or reside within our said province, shall be, and are hereby declared to be free, and shall not be subject to be bound to obey any laws, orders, statutes and constitutions, which have

been heretofore made, ordered or enacted by, for, or as, the laws, orders, statutes or constitutions of our said province of South-Carolina, (save and except only the command of the militia,) of our said province of Georgia, to our governor for the time being of South-Carolina, in manner hereafter declared; but shall be subject to, and bound to obey, such laws, orders, statutes and constitutions as shall from time to time be made, ordered and enacted, for the better government of the said province of Georgia, in the manner heretofore declared. And we do hereby, for our heirs and successors, ordain, will and establish, that for and during the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, the said corporation assembled for that purpose, shall and may form and prepare, laws, statutes and ordinances, fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony, and not repugnant to the laws and statutes of England; and the same shall and may present under their common seal to us, our heirs and successors, in our or their privy council for our or their approbation or disallowance: and the said laws, statutes and ordinances being approved of by us, our heirs and successors, in our or their privy council, shall from thence forth be in full force and virtue within our said province of Georgia. And forasmuch as the good and prosperous success of the said colony, can not but chiefly depend, next under the blessing of God, and the support of our royal authority, upon the provident and good direction of the whole enterprise, and that it will be too great a burthen upon all the members of the said corporation to be convened so often as may be requisite, to hold meetings for the settling, supporting, ordering, and maintaining the said colony; therefore we do will, ordain and establish, that the said common council for the time being, of the said corporation, being assembled for that purpose, or the major part of them, shall from time to time, and at all times hereafter, have full power and authority to dispose of, extend and apply all the monies and effects belonging to the said corporation, in such manner and

ways and by such expenses as they shall think best to conduce to the carrying on and effecting the good purposes herein mentioned and intended: and also shall have full power in the name and on account of the said corporation, and with and under their common seal, to enter under any covenants or contracts, for carrying on and effecting the purposes aforesaid. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said common council for the time being, or the major part of such common council, which shall be present and assembled for that purpose, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall and may nominate, constitute and appoint a treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries, and such other officers ministers and servants of the said corporation as to them or the major part of them as shall be present, shall seem proper or requisite for the good management of their affairs; and at their will and pleasure to displace, remove and put out such treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries, and all such other officers, ministers and servants, as often as they shall think fit so to do; and others in the room, office, place or station of him or them so displaced, removed or put out, to nominate constitute and appoint; and shall and may determine and appoint, such reasonable salaries, perquisites and other rewards, for their labor, or service of such officers, servants and persons as to the said common council shall seem meet: and all such officers servants and persons shall, before the acting in their respective offices, take an oath to be to them administered by the chairman for the time being of the said common council of the said corporation, who is hereby authorised to administer the same, for the faithful and due execution of their respective offices and places. And our will and pleasure is, that all such person and persons, who shall from time to time be chosen or appointed treasurer or treasurers, secretary or secretaries of the said corporation, in manner herein after directed, shall during such times as they shall serve in the said offices respectively, be incapable of being a member of the said corporation. In case any member shall die, or shall by writing

under his or their hands respectively resign his or their office or offices of common council-man or common council-men; the said corporation, or the major part of such of them, as shall be present, shall and may at such meeting, on the said third tuesday in March yearly, in manner as aforesaid, next after such death or resignation, and at no other meeting of the said corporation, into the room or place of such person or persons, so dead or so resigning, elect and choose one or more such person or persons, being members of the said corporation as to them shall seem meet: and our will is, that all and every person or persons which shall from time to time hereafter be elected common council-men of the said corporation as aforesaid, do and shall, before he or they act as common council-men of the said corporation, take an oath for the faithful and due execution of their office; which oath the president of the said corporation for the time being, is hereby authorised and required to administer to such person or persons elected as aforesaid. And our will and pleasure is, that the first president of the said corporation, is and shall be our trusty and well beloved the said John lord Viscount Purcival; and that the said president shall, within thirty days after the passing this charter, cause a summons to be issued to the several members of the said corporation, herein particularly named, to meet at such time and place as he shall appoint, to consult about and transact the businesses of the said corporation. And our will and pleasure is, and we, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, ordain and direct, that the common council of this corporation, shall consist of fifteen in number; and we do by these presents, nominate, constitute and appoint, our right trusty and well beloved, John, lord-viscount Purcival, our trusty and well beloved, Edward Digby, George Carpenter, James Oglethorpe, George Heathcote, Thomas Laroche, James Vernon, William Beletha, esquires, and Stephen Hales, M. A. to be the common council of the said corporation, to continue in the said office during their good behaviour. And whereas it is our royal intention, that the mem-

bers of the said corporation should be increased by election, as soon as conveniently may be, to a greater number than is hereby nominated. Our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, ordain and direct, that the number of the members shall not increase so as to exceed twenty-four. And we do further of our special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, by these presents, to the said corporation and their successors, that it shall be lawful for them and their officers or agents, at all times hereafter, to transport and convey out of our realm of Great-Britain, or any other our dominions, into the said province of Georgia, to be there settled; and so many of our loving subjects, or any foreigners that are willing to become our subjects, and live under our allegiance, in the said colony, as shall be willing to go to, inhabit, or reside there, with sufficient shipping, armour, weapons, powder, shot, ordnance, munition, victuals, merchandise and wares, as are esteemed by the wild people; clothing implements, furniture, cattle, horses, mares, and all other things necessary for the colony, and for the use and defence and trade with the people there, and in passing and returning to and from the same. Also we do, for ourselves and successors, declare, by these presents, that all and every the persons which shall happen to be born within the said province, and every of their children and posterity, shall have and enjoy all liberties, franchises and immunities of free denizens and natural born subjects, within any of our dominions, to all intents and purposes, as if abiding and born within this our kingdom of Great-Britain, or any other dominion.—And for the greater care and encouragement of our loving subjects and such others as shall come to inhabit in our said colony, we do by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, grant, establish and ordain, that forever hereafter there shall be a liberty of conscience allowed in the worship of God, to all persons inhabiting, or which shall inhabit or be resident within our said province, and that all such persons, except papists, shall have a free exer-

cise of religion, so they be contented with the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of the same, not giving offence or scandal to the government. And our further will and pleasure is, and we do hereby for us, our heirs and successors, declare and grant, that it shall and may be lawful for the said common council, or the major part of them assembled for that purpose, in the name of the corporation, and under the common seal, to distribute, convey, assign and set over such particular portions of lands, tenements and hereditaments by these presents granted to the said corporation, unto such our loving subjects, natural born, denizens or others that shall be willing to become our subjects, and live under one allegiance in the said colony, upon such terms, and for such estates, and upon such rents, reservations and conditions as the same may be lawfully granted, and as to the said common council, or the major part of them so present, shall seem fit and proper. Provided always that no grants shall be made of any part of the said lands unto any person, being a member of the said corporation, or to any other person in trust, for the benefit of any member of the said corporation; and that no person having any estate or interest, in law or equity, in any part of the said lands, shall be capable of being a member of the said corporation, during the continuance of such estate or interest. Provided also, that no greater quantity of lands be granted, either entirely or in parcels, to or for the use, or in trust for any one person, than five hundred acres; and that all grants made contrary to the true intent and meaning hereof, shall be absolutely null and void. And we do hereby grant and ordain, that such person or persons, for the time being as shall be thereunto appointed by the said corporation, shall and may at all times, and from time to time hereafter, have full power and authority to administer and give the oaths, appointed by an act of parliament, made in the first year of the reign of our late royal father, to be taken instead of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; and also the oath of abjuration, to all and every person and persons which shall at any time be inhabiting

or residing within our said colony; and in like cases to administer the solemn affirmation to any of the persons commonly called quakers, in such manner as by the laws of our realm of Great-Britain, the same may be administered. And we do, of our further grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, grant, establish and ordain, for us, our heirs and successors, that the said corporation and their successors, shall have full power and authority, for and during the term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, to erect and constitute judicatures and courts of record, or other courts, to be held in the name of us, our heirs and successors; for hearing and determining of all manner of crimes, offences, pleas, processes, complaints, actions, matters, causes and things whatsoever, arising or happening, within the said province of Georgia, or between persons of Georgia; whether the same be criminal or civil, and whether the said crimes be capital or not capital, and whether the said pleas be real, personal or mixed: and for awarding and making out executions thereupon, to which courts and judicatures, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, give and grant full power and authority, from time to time, to administer oaths for the discovery of truth in any matter in controversy, or depending before them, or the solemn affirmation, to any of the persons commonly called quakers, in such manner, as by the laws of our realm of Great-Britain, the same may be administered. And our further will and pleasure is, that the said corporation and their successors, do from time to time, and at all times hereafter, register or cause to be registered, all such leases, grants, plantings, conveyances, settlements, and improvements whatsoever, as shall at any time hereafter be made by, or in the name of the said corporation, of any lands, tenements or hereditaments within the said province; and shall yearly send and transmit, or cause to be sent or transmitted, authentic accounts of such leases, grants, conveyances, settlements and improvements respectively, into the auditor of the plantations for the time being, of our said province of South-

Carolina ; to whom we do hereby grant full power and authority from time to time, as often as need shall require, to inspect and survey, such of the said lands and premises, as shall be demised, granted and settled as aforesaid : which said survey and inspection, we do hereby declare, to be intended to ascertain the quit-rents which shall from time to time become due to us, our heirs and successors, according to the reservation herein before mentioned, and for no other purposes whatsoever ; hereby for us, our heirs and successors, strictly enjoining and commanding, that neither our or their surveyor, or any person whatsoever, under the pretext and colour of making the said survey or inspection, shall take, demand or receive, any gratuity, fee or reward, of or from, any person or persons, inhabiting in the said colony, or from the said corporation or common council of the same, on the pain of forfeiture of the said office or affairs, and incurring our highest displeasure. Provided always, and our further will and pleasure is, that all leases, grants and conveyances to be made by or in the name of the said corporation, of any lands within the said province, or a memorial containing the substance and effect thereof, shall be registered with the auditor of the said plantations, of us, our heirs and successors, within the space of one year, to be computed from the date thereof, otherwise the same shall be void. And our further will and pleasure is, that the rents, issues and other profits, which shall at any time hereafter come to the said corporation, or the major part of them which shall be present at any meeting for that purpose assembled, shall think will most improve and enlarge the said colony, and best answer the good purposes herein before mentioned, and for defraying all other charges about the same. And our will and pleasure is, that the said corporation and their successors, shall from time to time give in to one of the principal secretaries of state, and to the commissioners of trade and plantations, accounts of the progresses of the said colony. And our will and pleasure is that no act done at any meeting of the said common council of the said corpora-

tion, shall be effectual and valid, unless eight members at least of the said common council, including the member who shall serve as chairman at the said meeting, be present, and the major part of them consenting thereunto. And our will and pleasure is, that the common council of the said corporation for the time being, or the major part of them who shall be present, being assembled for that purpose, shall from time to time, for, and during, and unto the full end and expiration of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, have full power and authority to nominate, make, constitute and commission, ordain and appoint, by such name or names, stile or stiles, as to them shall seem meet and fitting, all and singular such governors, judges, magistrates, ministers and officers, civil and military, both by sea and land, within the said districts, as shall by them be thought fit and needful to be made or used for the said government of the said colony; save always, and except such offices only as shall by us, our heirs and successors, be from time to time constituted and appointed, for the managing and collecting and receiving such revenues, as shall from time to time arise within the said province of Georgia, and become due to us, our heirs and successors. Provided always, and it is our will and pleasure, that every governor of the said province of Georgia, to be appointed by the common council of the said corporation, before he shall enter upon or execute the said office of governor, shall be approved by us, our heirs or successors, and shall take such oath, and shall qualify himself in such manner, in all respects, as any governor or commander in chief of any of our colonies or plantations in America, are by law required to do; and shall give good and sufficient security for observing the several acts of parliament relating to trade and navigation, and to observe and obey all instructions that shall be sent to him by us, our heirs and successors, or any acting under our or their authority, pursuant to the said acts, or any of them. And we do by these presents for us, our heirs and successors, will, grant and ordain, that the said corporation

and their successors, shall have full power for and during and until the full end and term of twenty-one years, to commence from the date of these our letters patent, by any commander or other officer or officers, by them for that purpose from time to time appointed, to train and instruct, exercise and govern a militia, for the special defence and safety of our said colony, to assemble in martial array, the inhabitants of the said colony, and to lead and conduct them, and with them to encounter, expulse, repel, resist and pursue, by force of arms, as well by sea as by land, within or without the limits of our said colony; and also to kill, slay and destroy, and conquer by all fighting ways, enterprizes and means whatsoever, all and every such person or persons as shall at any time hereafter, in any hostile manner, attempt or enterprize the destruction, invasion, detriment or annoyance of our said colony; and to use and exercise the martial law in time of actual war and invasion or rebellion, in such cases, where by law the same may be used or exercised; and also from time to time to erect forts, and fortify any place or places within our said colony, and the same to furnish with all necessary ammunition, provisions and stores of war, for offence and defence, and so commit from time to time the custody or government of the same, to such person or persons as to them shall seem meet: and the said forts or fortifications to demolish at their pleasure; and to take and surprize, by all ways and means, all and every such person or persons, with their ships, arms, ammunitions and other goods, as shall in an hostile manner, invade or attempt the invading, conquering or annoying of our said colony. And our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, declare and grant, that the governor and commander in chief of the province of South-Carolina, of us, our heirs and successors, for the time being, shall at all times hereafter have the chief command of the militia of our said province, hereby erected and established; and that such militia shall observe and obey all orders and directions, that shall from time to time be given or sent to them

by the said governor or commander in chief; any thing in these presents before contained to the contrary hereof, in any wise notwithstanding. And, of our more special grace, certain knowledge and mere motion, we have given and granted, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant, unto the said corporation and their successors, full power and authority to import and export their goods, at and from any port or ports that shall be appointed by us, our heirs and successors, within the said province of Georgia, for that purpose, without being obliged to touch at any other port in South-Carolina. And we do, by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, will and declare, that from and after the termination of the said term of twenty-one years, such form of government and method of making laws, statutes and ordinances, for the better governing and ordering the said province of Georgia, and the inhabitants thereof, shall be established and observed within the same, as we, our heirs and successors, shall hereafter ordain and appoint, and shall be agreeably to law; and that from and after the determination of the said term of twenty-one years, the governor of our said province of Georgia, and all officers civil and military, within the same, shall from time to time be nominated and constituted, and appointed by us, our heirs and successors. And lastly, we do hereby, for us, our heirs and successors, grant unto the said corporation and their successors, that these our letters patent, or the enrolments or exemplification thereof, shall be in and by all things good, firm, valid, sufficient and effectual in the law, according to the true intent and meaning thereof, and shall be taken, construed and adjudged, in all courts and elsewhere in the most favorable and beneficial sense, and for the best advantage of the said corporation and their successors; any omission, imperfection, defect, matter or cause, or thing whatsoever to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness, we have caused these our letters to be made patent: witness ourselves at Westminster, the ninth day of June 1732, in the fifth year of our reign.

By writ of privy-seal.

Cooks.

No. 2.—Refer to page 36.

The trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia, in America, to the chief men of the nation of the lower Creeks, send greeting:

WHEREAS the great king George the second, king of Great-Britain; did by his letters patent under the great seal of Great-Britain, bearing date the ninth day of June, in the 5th year of his reign, constitute and appoint a body politick and corporate by the name of the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America. And whereas the said trustees have received from their beloved Mr. James Oglethorpe of West-Brook-Place, in the county of Surry esquire, one of the common council of the said trustees, a copy of certain articles of friendship and commerce between the said trustees and the said chief men, which is in the words following (that is to say,) articles of friendship and commerce between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the nation of the lower Creeks.

First—The trustees bearing in their hearts great love and friendship to you the said head men of the lower Creek nation, do engage to let their people carry up into your towns all kinds of goods fitting to trade in the said towns, at the rates and prices settled and agreed upon before you the said head men, and annexed to this treaty of trade and friendship.

Secondly—The trustees do by these articles promise to see restitution done to any of the people of your towns by the people they shall send among you; proof being made to the beloved man they shall at any time send among you, that they who have either committed murder, robbery, or have beat or wounded any of your people, or any wise injured them in their crops by their horses, or any other ways whatever; and upon such proof the said people shall be tried and punished according to the English law.

Thirdly.—The trustees, when they find the hearts of you the said head-men and your people are not good to the people they

shall send among you, or that you or your people do not mind this paper, they will withdraw the English trade from the town so offending. And that you and your people may have this chain of friendship in your minds and fixed to your hearts, they have made fast their seal to this treaty.

Fourthly—We the head men of the Coweta and Cuseta towns, in behalf of all the lower Creek nation, being firmly persuaded, that he who lives in heaven and is the occasion of all good things, has moved the hearts of the trustees to send their beloved men among us, for the good of our wives and children, and to instruct us and them in what is straight, do therefore declare that we are glad that their people are come here; and though this land belongs to us, (the lower Creeks) yet we, that we may be instructed by them, do consent and agree, that they shall make use of and possess all those lands, which our nation hath not occasion to use: and we make over unto them, their successors and assigns, all such lands and territories as we shall have no occasion to use; provided always, that they upon settling every new town, shall set out for the use of ourselves, and the people of our nation, such lands as shall be agreed upon between their beloved men, and the head men of our nation, and that those lands shall remain to us forever.

Fifthly—We the head-men do promise for ourselves and the people of our towns, that the traders for the English, which shall settle among us, shall not be robbed or molested in their trade in our nation; and that if it shall so happen, any of our people should be mad, and either kill, wound, beat or rob any of the English traders or their people, then we the said head-men of the towns aforesaid, do engage to have justice done to the English, and for that purpose to deliver up any of our people who shall be guilty of the crimes aforesaid, to be tried by the English laws, or by the laws of our nation, as the beloved man of the trustees shall think fit. And we further promise not to suffer any of the people of our said towns, to come into the limits of the English settlements, without leave from the English beloved

man, and that we will not molest any of the English traders passing to or from any nation in friendship with the English.

Sixthly—We the head-men, for ourselves and people, do promise to apprehend and secure any negro or other slave, which shall runaway from any of the English settlements to our nation, and to carry them either to this town, or Savannah or Palachuekola garrison, and there to deliver him up to the commander of such garrison, and to be paid by him four blankets or two guns, or the value thereof in other goods; provided such runaway negro or other slave, shall be taken by us or any of our people on the farther side of Oconee river; and in case such negro or runaway slave, shall be taken on the hither side of the said river, and delivered to the commanders aforesaid, then we understand the pay to be one gun or the value thereof; and in case we or our people should kill any such slave for resistance or running away from us in apprehending him, then we are to be paid one blanket for his head, by any trader, for carrying such slaves head unto him.

Lastly—We promise with stout hearts and love to our brothers the English, to give no encouragement to any other white people but themselves, to settle amongst us, and that we will not have any correspondence with the Spaniards or French, and to show that we both for the good of ourselves, our wives and children, do firmly promise to keep the talk in our hearts, as long as the sun shall shine or the waters run in the rivers. We have each of us set the marks of our families.

Schedule of the prices of goods agreed on, annexed:

Two yards of stroud.....	Five	buck-skins.
One yard of plains.....	One	ditto.
White blanket	Five	ditto.
Blue ditto	Three	ditto.
A gun	Ten	ditto.
A pistol	Five	ditto.
A gun lock	Four	ditto.
Two measures of powder.....	One	ditto.

Sixty bullets	One buck-skin.
One white shirt.....	Two ditto.
One knife	One doe-skin.
Eighteen flints	One buck-skin.
Three yards of cadiz.....	One doe-skin.
Ditto ditto of gartering	Ditto ditto.
One hoe	Two buck-skins.
One axe	Ditto ditto.
One large hatchet	Three doe-skins.
One small ditto	One buck-skin.
Brass kettles per lb.....	Ditto ditto.
Doe-skins were estimated at half the value of the bucks.	

And whereas the said trustees are greatly desirous to maintain and preserve an inviolable peace, friendship and commerce between the said head-men of the lower nation of Creeks, and the people of the said trustees, have sent and shall send to inhabit and settle in the province of Georgia aforesaid, to endure to the worlds end.

Now know ye, that we the said trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, do by these presents, ratify and confirm the said articles of friendship and commerce, between the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, and the chief men of the lower Creeks, and all and every of the articles and agreements therein contained, and also the rates and prices of goods above mentioned, settled and agreed upon before the said head-men, and annexed to the said treaty of trade and friendship. In witness whereof, the common council of the said trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, have to these presents made fast the common seal of the corporation of the said trustees, the eighteenth day of October, in the seventh year of the reign of our sovereign lord, George the second, by the grace of God, of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, king, defender of the faith, &c. and in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-three.

By order of the said common council.

BENJAMIN MARTYN, Secretary.

No. 3.—Refer to page 141.

Proceedings of the assembled estates of all the lower Creek nation, on Saturday, the eleventh day of August, one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine.

BY powers from his most sacred majesty George the second, by the grace of God, king of Great-Britain, France and Ireland, &c. General James Oglethorpe being appointed commissioner, was present in behalf of his majesty, and opened the assembly by a speech. There was also present at the said assembly of estates, Mico or chief king of the Coweta town, Chickeley Nenia Mico, of the said town, Malatche Mico, son of Brim, late emperor of the Creek nation, and the chiefs and warriors of the Coweta town, and the Mico or king of the Cusetas, and Schish-eligo Mico, next to the king of the Cusetas; Iskegio, third chief man of the Cusetas, and the other chief men and warriors of the said town; and also Ochaohapko, one of the chief men of the town of Palachuckolas: Killatee, chief war captain, and other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Townmawme Mico of the Ufawles, with several other chief men and warriors being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said towns—Matalcheko was captain of the Echeetees, with several other chief men and warriors, being sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Neathaklo, chief man of the Owichees, with several other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Occullaviche, chief man of the Chehaws, with several other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Hewanawge Thaleekeeo, chief man of the Oakmulgee, with several of the chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town—The Mico, king of the Oconees, with several chief men and warriors, having full powers to conclude all things for the said town—Nea-

chackelo, second chief man of the Swagles, with several other chief men and warriors, being deputies sent with full powers to conclude all things for the said town.

The said estates being solemnly held in full convention, by general James Oglethorpe, on behalf of the trustees of the one part, and the kings, chiefs and warriors aforesaid, on the other part, according to the forms, religion and customs, transmitted down by their ancestors. The whole estates declared by general consent, without one negative, that they adhered to their ancient love to the king of Great-Britain, and to their agreement made in the year 1733, with the trustees, for establishing the colony of Georgia in America, a counterpart of which agreement was then delivered to each town, and the deputies of the several towns produced the same: and the said estates further declared, that all the dominions, territories and lands from the river Savannah to the river St. John's, and all the islands between the said rivers; and from the river St. John's to the bay of Appalache, within which is the Appalache Old-fields; and from the said bay of Appalache to the mountains, doth by ancient right belong to the Creek nation, who have maintained possession of the said right against all opposers, by war, and can show the heaps of bones of their enemies, slain by them in defence of the said lands. And they further declare, that the said Creek nation, hath for ages had the protection of the kings and queens of England, and have gone to war by commissions from the governors, appointed by the said kings and queens of England; and that the Spaniards nor no other nation, have a right to any of the said lands, and that they will not suffer them or any other persons (excepting the trustees for establishing the colony of Georgia in America) to settle upon the said lands. And they do acknowledge the grant they have already made to the trustees, establishing the colony of Georgia in America, of the lands upon Savannah river, as far as the river Ogechee, and all the lands along the sea coast, as far as the river St. John's, and as high as the tide flows, and all the

islands as far as the said river, particularly the islands of Frederica, (meaning St. Simon's) Cumberland and Amelia, to which they have given the names of his majesty, king George's family, out of gratitude to him. But they declare that they did and do reserve to the Creek nation, the lands from Pipe makers Bluff to Savannah, and the islands of St. Catharine's, Osabaw and Sapelo. And they further declare, that all the said lands are held by the Creek nation as tenants in common.

The said commissioners doth declare that the English shall not enlarge or take any other land, except those granted as above by the Creek nation to the trustees, and doth promise and covenant that he will punish any person that shall intrude upon the lands which the corporation hath reserved as above.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Coweta town, this twenty-first day of August, anno domini, 1739.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

By James Oglethorpe, esquire, general and commander in chief of all his majesty's forces in South-Carolina and Georgia, &c. To all his majesty's subjects to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

KNOW YE, that you are not to take up or settle any land beyond the above limits, settled by me with the Creek nation, at their estates held on Saturday, the eleventh day of August, anno domini, 1739: as you shall, through me, at your peril answer.

Given under my hand and seal, at the Coweta town, this twenty-first day of August, anno domini, 1739.

JAMES OGLETHORPE.

*No. 4. Refer to page 214.**Frederica in Georgia, December 14th 1747.*

“KNOW all men by these presents, that we, Simpeopy war-king, of the Cowetas; Thlockpalahi, head warrior of the said town; Moxumgi, king of the Etchitas; Iswige, head warrior of the Etchitas, and Actithilki, beloved man of the said town; Ciocoliche, king of Osuchees; Appalya and Ischaboagy, beloved men of Nipky, and Himmopacohi, warriors of the said town; Tokeah, war-king of the Chehaws; Whyanneachi and Etowah, warriors of the said town; Mahelabbi, beloved man of the Cusetas, and Scheyah, warrior of the said town; and Estchothalleachi Yahulla Mico, of the Tiskugas: having full power by the laws of our nation, to conclude every thing for the towns we represent, do hereby acknowledge Malatche Opiya Mico, to be our rightful and natural prince. And we likewise further acknowledge that by the laws of our nation, we think ourselves obliged to stand by, ratify and confirm, every act and deed of his, as much as if we ourselves were present, and we therefore make this public declaration to all subjects of the crown of Great-Britain, that Malatche Opiya Mico has full power and authority as our natural prince, to transact all affairs relating to our nation, as firmly and fully, to all intents and purposes, as we the whole nation might or could do if present. In confirmation of which presents, we have hereunto set our hands, and affixed our seals in behalf of the different towns we represent, the day and date above written.”

Signed and sealed in presence of

ALEXANDER HERON, THOMAS WALKER, JOHN CALWELL,
PATRICK HOUSTOUN, JAMES MACKAY. THOMAS CLEMENS.

The above was signed and sealed by the Indians whose names are therein mentioned, proved by Alexander Heron, before Charles Wright, a justice of the peace in South-Carolina, on the 2nd of January 1748, and recorded in the secretaries office of that state, in book G. G. folio 239, by William George Freeman, deputy-secretary of state.

THE HISTORY OF GEORGIA.

[VOLUME II.]

CHAPTER I.

THE spirit of resistance to the encroachments of the crown of Great-Britain, on the rights of the provinces in America, was increased by every revenue act of parliament, imposed upon the colonies. These provinces having been planted under the auspices of a free constitution, which extended its benefits and paternal care to every subject in the British empire; the Americans, considered themselves of right, free from taxation until they were represented in parliament. The ministers of that government having yielded some points in the repeal of duties, such as the stamp act, an opposition of more decision was made against the artful introduction of minor duties, which were imposed upon glass, paper, tea and painter's colours. Remonstrances having been resorted to without success, the colonies associated in opposition to the introduction of all British manufactures, subject to taxation by the laws of England. The points of taxation were again yielded, with the exception of three-pence sterling per pound upon tea. This increased the confidence of the colonists and encouraged further opposition. They alledged that they had given, and would continue to give, aid to his majesty when constitutionally required; but an assemblage of American patriots insisted that their essential liberty and happiness, required that they should be taxed, only, by representatives of their own choice; and that they, being consumers of British manufactures, paid by the purchase of them all the taxes which that government had a right to impose.

Luxury had made but little progress among the people of this quarter of the globe, and the extermination of every seed of its baleful influence, was an object of primary consideration in a new settled country, under existing circumstances. The exercise of a moderate portion of freedom and the free use of those rights to which they considered themselves constitutionally entitled as British subjects, with the necessities of life produced by industry, appears to have amounted to the summit of their wishes.

The resolutions of the American Congress, had rendered the tax upon tea a barren branch of revenue, until a scheme was adopted by the East India Company, for the exportation of a large quantity of that article, to be disposed of on their own account, in the American ports. This measure produced that kind of commotion, from one end of the continent of America to the other, which the contrivers of the plan might have foreseen. These and many other similar designs, which have been noticed by almost every American historian, created a jealousy and hatred against Great-Britain.

For the purpose of uniting in some general plan of operations in this critical state of affairs, with the other provinces in America, a meeting was called in Savannah. But the powerful arm of the royal government in the hands of a man of Sir James Wright's sagacity and talents, at the head of an influential train of civil officers, prohibited an open expression of the public sentiment. Many of the most wealthy inhabitants, foresaw, that their pecuniary ruin would be the inevitable consequence of participating with the other colonies, in resistance to the aggressions of the crown. Another class composed of the dissipated and idle, who had little or nothing to risk, perceived their advantage in adhering to the royal government. A wide field for pillage would be opened, and the strong hold of St. Augustine in East Florida, would furnish a safe and secure retreat for themselves, and a deposit for their booty, in the event of a revolution.

In the year 1770 an inhabitant of South-Carolina, by the name of Schoval or Schovil; active, barbarous and of bad character; was commissioned as colonel of militia, by Lord Grenville, the governor of that province. The banditti who became the followers of such a leader, were denominated Schovilites; and in the first years of the revolution, this term of reproach was indiscriminately given to the adherents of the royal government, in the southern provinces. But in the progress of things they received the more appropriate denomination of Tories; which means loyalists, admirers of taxation to support sumptuously an host of placemen and pensioners. By the British and the friends of royalty, the American republicans, were denominated rebels.

The royal insurgents before mentioned, under the pretence of quelling the rebellion, had committed many outrageous depredations, and rendered themselves so obnoxious to a great majority of the people, that many of them were compelled to flee their country, and take refuge in East-Florida, and among the different tribes of Indians. These banditti, and others of the same description who fled from Georgia, were well calculated to scourge the province and awaken the greatest anxieties for the safety of their helpless families, in case the militia should take an active part against them. Georgia was charged in the first instance by the other colonies, with being tardy and indecisive; but the charge of inactivity vanishes, when the sword and hatchet are held over the heads of the actors to compel them to lie still.

Sir James Wright, governor of Georgia, in conjunction with John Stuart, superintendant of Indian affairs in the southern department, called a convention of the Cherokees and Creeks at Augusta, on the 1st of June,* where they voluntarily ceded to Great-Britain, a large tract of their territories, which these tribes requested might be accepted as a compensation for debts,

* Look at the top of each page for the year, when the month only is mentioned.

due by them to the traders, which they were otherwise unable to pay. Governor Wright was not vested with authority to accept this cession of land by the powers of his executive appointment in Georgia; but, foreseeing the advantages to the province, and the influence which would be given to the king's government, by the control of the funds which would arise from the sale of those lands, he had previously applied to the ministry for leave to make the treaty; and out of the proceeds of sales, to pay George Galphin and others, the large demands which they had for goods against the different tribes of Indians. By having the control of these funds, Wright had the power, and exercised it, of paying the loyal subjects the full amount of their demands; and of withholding payment, from such as he deemed favorably disposed toward the American cause.

The same partiality was evidenced in the disposition of the lands. Galphin and many others who opposed the measures of the British government, never received any compensation, though their demands were to a very large amount, and the justice of their claims indisputable.

For the policy practised by Wright in changing the direction of this fund into a measure for the support of his government, and for other political measures which he adopted, the order of knighthood is said to have been conferred upon him. He was a man of considerable talents, great industry, very avaricious and devoted to the measures of his king.

The tract of country included in this transfer, north-west of Little river, and the head waters of Ogechee, was fertile and healthy, and consequently soon invited a number of settlers from the other provinces. Governor Wright digested a plan of settlement and appointed colonel Bartlet, Messrs. Young, Holland and Maddox, commissioners; and vested them with powers to dispose of tracts of land to such persons as should apply—allowing two hundred acres to the head of each family, and fifty acres to each of its members brought into the province—comprehending wives, children and negroes—and pay-

ing five pounds sterling for entrance money, for every hundred acres. When this sum was paid, a warrant was granted, upon which the survey was made. The commissioners were authorised to value each tract, agreeably to its quality, not exceeding five shillings per acre. Land courts were opened in September at Augusta; and at the confluence of Broad and Savannah rivers, where captain Thomas Waters' company was garrisoned in fort James. A town was soon after laid off at this fort called Dartmouth, now Petersburg; and several plantations were opened in its vicinity.

During the session of the assembly in Savannah in September, a law was passed, forming the tract of country between the Alatomaha and St. Mary's rivers, into four parishes, to be known by the names of St. David, St. Thomas, St. Patrick and St. Mary. These parishes were afterward represented in the provincial legislature, according to their population. The other provinces had appointed agents to the court of Great-Britain, to represent their wants and wishes, and to remonstrate against such acts of the crown, as had become oppressive to the American colonies, and to oppose the introduction of any new species of taxation at variance with the constitution. Many of the provinces had confided this trust to doctor Benjamin Franklin, and during the session above-mentioned, he was appointed for the same purposes from this province, and a fund was appropriated to meet the expenses of the mission. Gray Elliott, an inhabitant of this province, was appointed to act as an assistant to doctor Franklin, and to communicate the wishes of the assembly in person. He was also vested with the same powers which had been confided to doctor Franklin, in case of his absence, or of vacancy in the office to which he had been appointed.

These measures did not meet with the approbation of governor Wright, as this duty was specially confided to the executive, and properly became his business: he did not, however, feel disposed to irritate the public mind, by an interference with

what was claimed, and generally believed to be a constitutional right; therefore, he only advised another course, which, he said, would be more likely to succeed.

When the peace of the county was disturbed by Indian warfare, it was generally to be attributed to the improper conduct of the Indian trading-houses, and persons in their employ. An extensive trading-house had been established at Pensacola, under the firm of Panton and Lessly; and it was believed, that their interest prompted them to cherish the evil disposition of the Indians, toward the people of Georgia, and to draw the Indian trade from this province to their own establishment. It was suggested to governor Wright, that that house had offered rewards for scalps of the people of Georgia; and that in consequence, of such reward being proffered, several scalps were actually taken from the head of one white man. Governor Wright remonstrated against this abominable and inhuman practice, and it was afterward discontinued.

The Quakers, who had been driven from their settlements on the south side of Little river in 1751, had returned to their farms, and had made considerable progress in agriculture. These people are valuable inhabitants of a country in a state of peace, but the most useless in time of war. The settlements on the ceded lands, on Ogechee, and north of Little river, increased in numbers beyond the most sanguine expectation; but in January, they were invaded by a party of Creek Indians, who attacked Sherrill's fort, in which there were five white men, three negro men and twelve women and children. About nine o'clock in the morning, the Indians approached secretly, and fired upon the people, where they were at work on the fort. Sherrill and two others fell on the first fire; the remainder retreated into the houses, where they were encouraged to make good their defence, by the bravery and example of one of the negro men, who rushed out upon an Indian and shot him through the head. The Indians set fire to the fort and houses in three places, but fortunately it was extinguished. Two men

of the neighbourhood heard the firing, and approached so near the fort as to be discovered by the Indians, and were pursued, but they escaped and gave notice of the attack to captain Barnard, who collected about forty men and advanced to their relief. Barnard attacked the Indians in the rear, and compelled them to retreat into a swamp. In the fort, seven persons were killed, and five wounded. Five Indians were killed, but the number wounded was not known, as they were carried off by their companions.

A few days afterward a skirmish took place, in which twenty-five white men were engaged against one hundred and fifty Indians. Grant, Weatherford, Hammond and Ayers, were killed, and one man wounded, who died next day at Wrightsboro'. The Indians burned several forts and houses, which had been abandoned by the inhabitants. Captain Few and lieutenants Williams and Bishop, collected a party of men and buried the bodies of those who were slain in the recent action. Lieutenant Samuel Alexander, collected a few militia and pursued a small party of Indians, who were separated from the main body, and on the succeeding day, attacked and defeated them: two Indians were killed. Colonel Rae, who was an agent of Indian affairs, threatened Alexander with punishment for having taken such rash measures without authority; but on being fully informed of the circumstances, he was convinced of the necessity of them. He conjectured that when the whole of these transactions were explained to the Chiefs of the nation, they would view the provocation in its proper light, and acquiesce in the justness of the retaliation.

This unexpected invasion of the settlements on the ceded lands, occasioned the settlers to retreat to places of greater security. On the Savannah and Little rivers, they constructed forts for the lodgment of their families and moveable property, and for places of retreat for the men in the event of being driven from their farms, on which they performed their labour in companies for mutual safety.

Mr. George Galphin, a principal agent for Indian affairs, despatched a messenger to the chiefs of the nation, to ascertain whether they were determined on war, or disposed to peace; and to demand the reasons for the recent unprovoked attack. The chiefs disavowed the authority of the attack; and declarations of their pacific dispositions, toward the people of Georgia, were returned by the messenger.

The Indian chief, called the big Elk, who was the leader of the savages in the attack on Sherrill's fort, finding that his own nation was not disposed for the war, went to the Cherokees, and invited them to join him against the white people. The Cherokees declined the invitation. In returning home, that chief, and his party, killed and scalped three white men. About the last of March, the head Turkey, a chief of the upper Creeks, accompanied by two other chiefs and an Indian trader, visited the lower towns to prevail on them to make peace with Georgia. He obtained their consent to visit the governor and make propositions. On his way, at Augusta, he was murdered, by one Thomas Fee, in revenge for a relation of his who had been murdered by the Indians, on the frontiers. Fee escaped into South-Carolina, where he was promised protection by some of the inhabitants. The governor of Georgia proclaimed a reward of one hundred pounds sterling, for apprehending and bringing him to punishment. He was arrested and lodged in the prison, at Ninety-six, where he remained but a few days, when an armed party came in the night time, forced the prison, and released him. When the Indians heard that Fee was apprehended, and in prison, a party of the chiefs came to Savannah to witness his execution; and were much displeased to learn that he had been forcibly released. The governor informed them that the proclamation was still in force, and that the governor of South-Carolina had offered a further reward of two hundred pounds, for apprehending him; and he hoped that Fee might yet be brought to suffer the punishment which his crime merited. The governor then stated to the chiefs, that within

four months, fifteen of his people had been killed without any provocation; and that eleven more had been killed on Long-cane, in South-Carolina. He demanded of the chiefs, the blood of the Indians who had murdered those innocent people, and asked them with what propriety they could make a demand of that justice, which they were unwilling to render? He stated to them, that the king would grant him a sufficient force to exterminate their nation, if he required it; but he did not wish for war, which he had evidenced to them by his pacific disposition, and forbearance.—That they must change their plan, and not spill the blood of his innocent people for petty offences committed by evil disposed persons; and assured them, that whenever they were aggrieved, he would give them satisfaction, by making proper reparation for injuries of which they might justly complain: and that if thereafter, the Indians were guilty of the murder of his people, or of robbing them of their property, he would make their nation atone for such offences. The Indians were conscious of their guilt, and promised to be peaceable for the future. When they were about to depart, the governor ordered captain Samuel Elbert with his company of grenadiers, to escort them through the settlements, to prevent mischief being done to them by the inhabitants. While the chiefs were absent from the nation, several war parties had marched to the frontiers of Georgia, where they committed several thefts, and murders. Some chiefs of the upper towns, came in soon afterward, and informed the governor, that they had sent out a party of their warriors, who had killed the leader and two of the men who had committed the recent depredations on the property and people of Georgia; with which they expressed a hope that he would be satisfied.

During these Indian depredations and disputes, in which the attention of Georgia was deeply engaged, troops from England were landed in Boston, to enforce the operation of the offensive acts of the British parliament. Governor Wright had secured to the interest of the king, as many men of wealth, tal-

ents and influence as he could find willing to hold offices. John Stuart, superintendant of Indian affairs, had taken the same precaution in the selection of his agents with the different tribes of Indians. The friends of the rights of the provinces were not unobservant of passing events. Henry Laurens, esq. and many other gentlemen of influence and talents in South-Carolina, inquired of their friends in Georgia, whether the tree of liberty had been planted and taken root, and whether the rice swamps between the Alatamaha and Savannah rivers, would be favourable to the culture of that valuable plant? Observing that it had, already, been fostered to the westward of Augusta, notwithstanding the Indian hatchet had been made sharp by British influence and agency, and was held up ready to sever the roots from the trunk, as soon as it appeared in the bud. Captain Lachlan M'Intosh, was warmly invited to step forward to aid with his experience and military talents, in support of the rights of the provinces, if arms should be resorted to for their vindication. This gentleman having been reared up under the patronage of general Oglethorpe, had attracted the attention of the patriots toward him, as the commanding-officer in Georgia, in the event of the contest assuming a military form.

Upon an examination of the American character from the first settlement of the country up to the present day, it has been tardy in its movements to engage in war; and obstinate in the extreme, when roused into action. Every exertion is made to conciliate and appease in the first instance; but when a stand is once taken, the points contended for, are never yielded. This trait of character is strongly marked in the progress of the revolutionary war: as the contest progressed, the demands of America were increased; the conciliatory offers of the British government, followed step by step, falling short of the demands which were made, until independence was declared, and a treaty acceded to upon equal terms.

On the 14th of July the following publication appeared in the *Georgia Gazette*. "The critical situation to which the

British colonies in America, are likely to be reduced, from the alarming and arbitrary impositions of the late acts of the British parliament respecting the town of Boston, as well as the acts that at present extend to the raising of a perpetual revenue, without the consent of the people or their representatives, is considered as an object extremely important at this critical juncture; and particularly calculated to deprive the American subjects of their constitutional rights and liberties, as a part of the British empire. *It is therefore requested*, that all persons, within the limits of this province do attend at the liberty pole, at Tondee's tavern in Savannah, on Wednesday the 27th instant, in order that the said matters may be taken under consideration; and such other *constitutional measures* pursued as may then appear to be most eligible." Signed, Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun and George Walton.

The friends to this publication, addressed letters to the different parts of the province, representing the arbitrary stretches of British power practised in the northern colonies, by which thousands of the American people had been most cruelly consigned to poverty and ruin. That the axe had been laid at the root of the tree of their liberties;—every privilege then, claimed as a birth-right, might soon be wrested from them by the same authority that blockaded the town of Boston. The sacred mode of trial by juries from the vicinage, would shortly be no more, the solemn charters would vanish like "the baseless fabric of a vision," while the iron hand of power would be severely felt throughout the American colonies.

The talents of governor Wright's council, and all the friends of the British government in the province, were interested in favour of the aggressive measures of the parliament on the constitutional rights of the colonists, as British subjects. The papers of the day were filled with arguments against the American procedure; and the destruction of this colony was predicted as the inevitable consequence of taking any share in the com-

mon cause. Georgia was represented as being surrounded by Indians under British control, who could quickly exterminate all opposition to the measures of the government.

It is not amiss to give a brief sketch of the law which was entitled, an act for the impartial administration of justice, in the cases of persons questioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the suppression of riots and tumults in the province of Massachusetts. In the preamble, which shows the intention and scope of the law; it sets forth—that in the disordered state of that province, it was of the utmost importance to the general welfare thereof, and the re-establishment of lawful authority, that neither the magistrates acting in support of the laws, nor any of his majesty's subjects, aiding and assisting them therein, in the suppression of riots and tumults raised in opposition to the execution of the laws and statutes of the realm—should be discouraged from the proper discharge of their duty by an apprehension, that in case of their being questioned for any act done therein, they might be liable to be brought to trial for the same before persons who did not acknowledge the validity of the laws in the execution thereof, nor of the authority of the magistrates, in support of whom such acts had been done.

Agreeably to the declared intention of this law, it was enacted, that if any bills of indictment should be found against any person for murder, or other capital offences, in the province of Massachusetts, and it should appear by information given upon oath to the governor, or lieutenant-governor, that the fact was committed by the person indicted, while he was either in the execution of his duty as a magistrate, in suppressing riots, or in support of the laws of revenue; or that he was acting in his duty as an officer of the revenue; or acting under the direction and order of any magistrate for the suppression of riots, or for the carrying into effect the laws of the revenue; or aiding and assisting in any of the purposes aforesaid: and if it should appear to the satisfaction of the said governor, or lieu-

tenant-governor, that an indifferent trial could not be had within the province; in that case it should be lawful that the indictment should be tried in some other of the colonies, or in Great-Britain. The plain inference to be drawn from this law was, that the king's officers and other servants were secured from punishment, while those who adhered to the American cause, had every thing to dread from its operation.

According to the notice which has been heretofore mentioned, a number of respectable freeholders and inhabitants met at the Watch-house, in Savannah, on the 27th of July.

John Glenn, Esquire, was chosen chairman. Sundry letters and resolutions, received from the committees of correspondence, at Boston, Philadelphia, Annapolis, Williamsburgh, North-Carolina and Charleston, were presented and read. A motion was made, that a committee be appointed to draw up resolutions to be entered into by the inhabitants of this province, nearly similar to those of the northern provinces. A debate arose thereon, and the motion was carried by a large majority. It was resolved, that, the following gentlemen should constitute that committee, viz. John Glenn, John Smith, Joseph Clay, John Houstoun, Noble Wimberly Jones, Lyman Hall, William Young, Edward Telfair, Samuel Farley, George Walton, Joseph Habersham, Jonathan Bryan, Jonathan Cockran, George M'Intosh, Sutton Bankes, William Gibbons, Benjamin Andrew, John Winn, John Stirk, Archibald Bulloch, James Screven, David Zubly, Henry Davis Bourquin, Elisha Butler, William Baker, Parmenus Way, John Baker, John Mann, John Benefield, John Stacy and John Morel. Several gentlemen objected to resolutions being immediately entered into, as the inhabitants of the distant parishes might not have had sufficient notice of their objects. It was therefore resolved, that the meeting be adjourned until the 10th of August; and that the chairman should in the mean time, write to the different parishes and districts upon the subject, that it was expected they would send deputies to join the committee at that time; and that the num-

ber of deputies be proportioned to the representatives usually sent to the general assembly. It was also resolved, that the resolutions agreed upon and entered into at the next meeting, by a majority of the said committee then met, should be deemed the sense of the inhabitants of this province.

When these proceedings were made public through the medium of the press, they excited alarm. The governor called a meeting of the king's council, to consult with them what was best to be done. The proceedings of the persons who constituted the meeting, were read, and a motion made to expel the honorable Jonathan Bryan from his membership in the council, because his name appeared among the members of the committee. Mr. Bryan with patriotic indignation, informed them in a style peculiar to himself for its candour and energy, that he would "save them the trouble," and handed his resignation to the governor.

Finding that lenient means would not avail, the governor determined to appeal to the law, and the force of his party. For this purpose, he issued the following proclamation:—

"GEORGIA.

"By his excellency, Sir James Wright, baronet, captain general, governor and commander in chief of his majesty's province of Georgia, chancellor, vice-admiral and ordinary of the same.

"A PROCLAMATION.

"Whereas, I have received information, that on Wednesday the 27th day of July last past, a number of persons, in consequence of a printed bill or summons, issued and dispersed throughout the province, by certain persons unknown; did unlawfully assemble together at the Watch-house in the town of Savannah, under colour or pretence of consulting together for the redress of public grievances, or imaginary grievances; and that the persons so assembled for the purposes aforesaid, or some of them, are from and by their own authority, by a certain

other hand bill issued and dispersed throughout the province, and other methods, endeavouring to prevail on his majesty's liege subjects to have another meeting on Wednesday the 10th instant, similar to the former, and for the purposes aforesaid; which summonses and meetings must tend to raise fears and jealousies in the minds of his majesty's good subjects. And whereas an opinion prevails and has been industriously propagated, that summonses and meetings of this nature are constitutional and legal; in order therefore that his majesty's liege subjects may not be misled and imposed upon by artful and designing men; I do, by and with the advice of his majesty's honorable council, issue this my proclamation, notifying that all such summonses and calls by private persons, and all assembling and meetings of the people, which may tend to raise fears and jealousies in the minds of his majesty's subjects, under pretence of consulting together for redress of public grievances, or imaginary grievances; are unconstitutional, illegal and punishable by law. And I do hereby require all his majesty's liege subjects within this province to pay due regard to this my proclamation, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

"Given under my hand, this fifth day of August, &c.

JAMES WRIGHT.

By his excellency's command,

THOMAS MOODIE, *Deputy-Secretary.*

God save the King."

Agreeably to adjournment, a general meeting of the inhabitants took place on the 10th of August, to consider the state of the colonies in America; when it was resolved that his majesty's subjects in America were entitled to the same rights and immunities with their fellow-subjects in Great-Britain. That as protection and allegiance were reciprocal, and under the constitution, co-relative terms, the subjects in America had a clear and indisputable right, as well from the general laws of mankind, as from the ancient custom of the land, so often rec-

ognised, to petition the throne upon every emergency. That an act of parliament lately passed for blocking up the port and harbour of Boston, was contrary to their ideas of the British constitution—First, that in effect, it deprived the inhabitants of the use of their property; secondly, that it was an *ex post facto* law, and indiscriminately blended as objects of punishment, the innocent with the guilty. That the act for abolishing the charter of Massachusetts, tended to the subversion of American rights generally; for beside those liberties which the original settlers brought over with them as their birthright, particular immunities were granted by these charters as inducements and means of settling the provinces: and they were of opinion that these charters could not be dissolved but by a voluntary surrender of the people, declared by their representatives. That the parliament of Great-Britain had no right to tax the Americans without representation, and that every demand for the support of government, should be by requisition made to the several houses of representatives. That it was contrary to natural justice and the law of the land, to transport any person to Great-Britain, or elsewhere, to be tried under indictment for a crime committed in any of the colonies; as the party prosecuted would thereby be deprived of the privilege of trial by his peers from the vicinage; the injured perhaps deprived of legal reparation; and both lose the full benefit of their witnesses. That they would concur with their sister colonies in every constitutional measure to obtain redress of grievances, and by every lawful means in their power maintain those inestimable blessings, for which they were indebted only to God and the constitution of their country. And that the committee appointed by the meeting of the inhabitants of this province on the 27th of the preceeding month, together with the deputies then present from the different parishes, should form a general committee to act, and that any eleven or more of them should have full power to correspond with the committees of the several provinces upon the continent: and that copies of these resolutions as well

as all other proceedings, should be transmitted without delay to the committees of correspondence in the respective provinces.

A committee was appointed to receive subscriptions for the suffering citizens in Boston, consisting of William Ewen, William Young, Joseph Clay, John Houstoun, Noble Wimberly Jones, Edward Telfair, John Smith, Samuel Farley, and Andrew Elton Wells, Esquires. In a few hours, five hundred and seventy-nine barrels of rice were contributed, and shipped for that port.

A few days after this meeting, another was called by governor Wright, to try the strength of his party; intending to adopt his measures accordingly. About one third of the inhabitants in and near Savannah, including his council and other civil and military officers, met at the Court-house, and signed a dissent against the republican proceedings and a protest against their meeting, as being unconstitutional. Similar papers were placed in the hands of the governor's influential friends and sent in different directions over the country to obtain subscribers; allowing a sum of money to each of those persons, proportioned to the number of subscribers they obtained, and as a compensation for their services. Under these advantageous circumstances, the royal servants were successful in obtaining signatures from many timid men, who were favourably disposed to the American cause. The only press in the province at that day, was under the immediate influence and control of governor Wright, and warmly attached to the royal cause. The number of subscribers was magnified to a considerable majority of the provincial population. In some instances the number of subscribers exceeded the population of the parishes from whence they came; and from others the signatures of men were affixed who had been dead many years. The printer was also charged with partiality to the royal government, in withholding facts from the public which would have given the true impression; which had a tendency to strengthen the British, and weaken the American cause.

The republican party in America became disgusted with the plan of petitioning the king and parliament, the effects of which were generally a delay of one or two years; and then, if any notice was taken of them, it was in terms so vague, as to require another year for explanation; and then was made to mean any thing or nothing. In the mean time, some new burthens were imposed upon the provinces for the purpose of keeping them under the yoke of bondage; adding two grievances while they were removing one. It was evidently the policy of the British government, to keep this extensive country, growing fast in population, in complete subjection. To effect this purpose, the talents and cunning of the British ministry were incessantly employed. They strictly adhered to the right of taxation to produce a revenue; but it was softened down, from motives of policy, until it had become unproductive.

The new ministerial principles, were considered as a direct attack upon the rights and liberties of the colonists. A most violent ferment was every where excited, and resolutions were entered into, declaring those who refused their countenance and aid, to be inimical to the common interest of the country, and to be treated as enemies. Another act of parliament was passed essentially abridging the colonial privileges. The council heretofore elected by the general court of Massachusetts, was to be appointed by the ministry; and the provincial governors were vested with the power of appointing and removing at pleasure the judges, attorney-generals, provost-m Marshals, justices, sheriffs, and all other civil officers; and the governors' salaries were fixed and paid by the crown, independant of the provincial legislatures. The meetings of the people were expressly forbidden, without leave having been previously obtained from the governors in writing, expressing the special objects of such meeting; and that no matter should be treated of, excepting the election of public officers, and the business expressed in the governor's permission. Jurors who had been previously elected by the freeholders and inhabitants, were now

to be summoned and returned by the sheriffs of the several counties, and the nomination of all the officers was vested in the king or his governors. If any offence was committed in giving aid to the execution of the civil authority, the person so indicted, either for murder or any other offence deemed capital, might be tried in any other colony, or in Great-Britain, at the governor's pleasure. The people considered their chartered liberty, literally annihilated by a system so completely tyrannical. Resolutions in opposition to these arbitrary and unconstitutional measures were circulated with incredible dispatch, and excited universal indignation against the mother country.

CHAPTER II.

A general congress had been proposed to meet annually, for the purpose of deliberating on such measures as the interest of the colonies might require; and the committees of correspondence were to communicate with them from the different provinces, recommending such measures as the general welfare of America required.

At the annual election in Massachusetts, in May, thirteen members of the council were negatived by governor Gage, and he refused to suffer any business to be discussed by them, except the common matters of the province; making it a court of form rather than substance. At an early period, the governor adjourned the court to meet in Salem, a place less populous, and controlled by the military. The house at length determined to take under consideration the differences which existed between Great-Britain and the American colonies. They resolved that a meeting of several committees on the continent was highly expedient and necessary to consult upon the existing state of affairs, and the miseries to which the colonies must be reduced, by the operation of the offensive acts of parliament respecting America: and to deliberate and determine upon proper measures to be by them recommended to all the colonies for the recovery and establishment of their just rights and religious and civil liberties: and the restoration of that union and harmony between them and Great-Britain, which was most ardently desired by all good men. Five persons were chosen in conformity with these resolutions in opposition to the governor's will, to meet the delegates from the other provinces at Philadelphia, or at such other place, as might be agreed upon. Accordingly the delegates of eleven provinces met in Philadelphia on the 4th of September following. Sundry resolutions were entered into and transmitted to the provincial assemblies, which received general approbation.

After a session of eight weeks they adjourned, warmly rec-

ommending that another meeting should be held on the 10th of May next ensuing, and that deputies should be chosen at an early date in case their meeting should be previously required by any extraordinary change in the state of public affairs. Though the powers of this congress were merely advisory, yet their recommendations were more generally and effectually carried into execution, than the laws of the most subservient colonies under the king's government. Doctor Franklin had been required to attend a committee of the Lords Commissioners of trade and plantations in London; but his penetration soon enabled him to discover that he was disliked by the British government; that his opinions embarrassed them, and that their measures were thwarted by his well founded arguments in favour of colonial redress. He perceived that all his petitions and complaints in behalf of the colonies, were so odious to the government, that even the organ of them was a partaker of the odium. He said he was at a loss to know how peace and union were to be restored and maintained between the different parts of the empire; grievances could not be redressed unless they were known, and they could only be represented through the medium of complaints and petitions: if presenting these was deemed offensive and the messenger treated with neglect and contempt, who would henceforth send petitions, or who would undertake the unpleasant task of delivering them? It had always been thought dangerous in governments to close the vents of grief: wise ones had generally received petitions with some indulgence, even when but slightly founded. Those who thought themselves injured by their rulers, were sometimes by mild and prudent answers, convinced of their error; but when complaints were treated as crimes, the pleasurable expectations of hope were soon supplanted by the restive tumults of despair.

A notice appeared in the *Georgia Gazette*, inviting a number of gentlemen who were desirous of petitioning the king, as a last resort, for a repeal of the acts of parliament, imposing taxes without representation, on the 12th of January, at ten

o'clock, at Tondee's long-room, in Broughton-street; where a petition was to be offered for their consideration. A number of respectable inhabitants accordingly convened and entered into resolutions that the legislature should be requested to forward their petition to the king to relieve them from the oppressions with which they were burthened, and transmit it to Doctor Franklin in London.

The mild and humble tenor of this instrument invited the signatures and influence of the most respectable men in the province. Indeed it had many advocates who were not favourable to resistance by the colonies; and, notwithstanding the application of an armed force, which was resorted to by the British government; many were unwilling, and absolutely refused going farther than a solicitation in humble terms for redress. The powerful talents of governor Wright and judge Stokes, and the influence they held over the royal servants, and many other inhabitants of wealth, talents and respectability, were with great difficulty over-balanced. The election which took place in January, produced the exertions of the opposing parties; and the uniform success of the candidates for the redress of grievances, fairly tested the opinion of the majority of the province.

On the 18th of January the assembly convened in Savannah. The governor with his usual eloquence and force of reasoning, descanted largely on the ferment which existed in this, as well as in the other provinces, and the dreadful consequences which would result from their rebellious procedures; threatening them with the strong arm of Great-Britain; and that he apprehended, their very extraordinary and violent measures would not only prevent a reconciliation, but involve all America in the most distressing calamities. He expressed gratification that this province had heretofore acted with prudence and mildness, compared with the others; and hoped that they would not yield to the suggestions of designing men, overheated with passion, by entering into resolutions and measures expressly

contrary to law, and in opposition to their own peace, safety and happiness. He observed that their rights were dear to him, and that it should be his unremitted study to secure to them, their just claims: that he had presided over them for fourteen years, and had given them ample proof of his affection and regard. That it would give him pain to see the seeds of rebellion sown in a province, where he had so long resided, and which he had seen nourished by the crown at such vast expense. That they had been happy in avoiding Scylla, and he conjured them in the strongest terms to steer clear of Charybdis. He closed his address by calling their attention to their provincial concerns, and conjured them to avoid the discussion of the political matters which had produced such a mania in the other provinces.

The house of assembly in reply, lamented the unhappy divisions; disapproved of violent and intemperate measures, and declared it to be their pride and glory to be constitutionally connected with Great-Britain by the closest and most endearing ties; and that they dreaded nothing more than a dissolution of those ties. Yet, anxious for the welfare of their country and the interests of their posterity; their ardent wish was, that his majesty's American subjects might enjoy the rights and privileges of British subjects, as fully and effectually as the inhabitants of Great-Britain: and to that end it appeared highly necessary, that the constitutional rights of his American subjects, should be clearly defined and firmly established: that they might hold those inestimable blessings on such a footing as would unite the mother country and the colonies, by a reciprocation of benefits, and on terms consistent with the spirit and true meaning of the constitution, and the honor, dignity and safety of the whole empire. They wished and hoped to see a matter of such importance taken up by the house on constitutional principles, not doubting that if such prudent and temperate measures were adopted by the legislatures of the several provinces, their wishes would soon be crowned with success, which might remove the unhappy divisions subsisting; bind

them to the mother country by the strongest ties of interest, love and gratitude, and establish the prosperity and power of the British empire, on a foundation which would last until time should be no more. But they considered that they must want sensibility indeed, not to feel the numerous grievances with which they had been oppressed, without calling for that redress, for which every good American contended. That it was the enjoyment of those rights and liberties which softened every care of life and rendered existence itself supportable. At the same time they declared, that in all their proceedings, they would studiously avoid every measure that should not appear to them at once strictly consistent with their duty to his majesty, and the interest, liberty and welfare of their constituents.

In order to divert the public mind as much as possible from the objects which had engrossed the attention of the other colonies; the governor called for the co-operation of the legislature in planning measures for the speedy settlement of the lands which had been ceded by the Indian treaty in 1773: and issued his proclamation, requiring all those who had sustained losses by the Indians, either by the debts which they had contracted, or property they had plundered, to exhibit these claims, which should be liquidated and received in payment of bounty on land, or any other claim of the province; and that the attention of the governor and council would be given to claimants on the first Tuesday in every month.

During the session of the assembly, petitions were received from the different parishes, urging that a stand should be made in support of their rights in unison with the other provinces. They could not remain unconcerned spectators of the poignant sufferings in the other colonies, which had in vain sought for redress by mild conciliatory measures.

The British minister had declared in parliament, that it was his determination, before he left the helm; to subject America to obedience by force of arms. At that time general Gage was employed at the head of the British army in attempting to re-

duce the northern colonies to submission, in conformity with the declaration of the ministry. Armed ships and transports were daily arriving at different points on the American coast, with re-enforcements to the British army, and parties detached in different directions to take possession of arms and ammunition, and keep the people in awe.

On the 29th of January, there was a meeting of four or five hundred merchants in London, at the king's arms tavern, who drew up a petition and presented it to parliament, stating several particulars of the extensive trade with North-America, as it respected the barter of commodities, the balance of cash, as well as the negotiation of exchange in several parts of Europe. It also stated that this very extensive trade was injured by the several revenue bills affecting North-America, passed between the repeal of the stamp act, and the year 1773. It concluded by praying redress in these particulars as well as in the operation of all other acts which might affect the trade between Great-Britain and North-America.

The king's speech to parliament in November 1774, represented that a most daring spirit of resistance and disobedience had appeared in his North-American colonies, and that the seeds of discord and rebellion were sprouting in every province; that unlawful combinations were formed to resist the operation of his laws, and that he had adopted such measures as he deemed most effectual for carrying into execution the laws of the last session of parliament ordering the application of military force, in case of further resistance. This speech occasioned a warm debate in the house of commons, but when the vote was taken, an address of thanks was carried by a large majority. A similar address was carried in the upper house, but nine of the Lords entered a protest against it. In this state of affairs, parliament adjourned until January. Soon after the adjournment the proceedings of the American congress reached Great-Britain. At the meeting of the ensuing session of parliament, the subject of American affairs was again taken up. Lord

Chatham, after a long retirement, resumed his seat in the house of Lords, and endeavoured by his extraordinary eloquence and reasoning, to dissuade the government from an attempt to reduce the American colonists to submission by the force of arms. Upon this occasion the fire of youth flashed from the tongue of this venerable and illustrious sage; but the powers of his eloquent reasoning could not prevail. He enlarged on the ruinous events which were coming upon the nation, by separating the important wing in the west of the empire, by a trifling etiquette in the ministerial plans; arraigned the conduct of the ministers, and reprobated the whole system of procedure on American affairs with great severity. He moved that an humble address should be presented to the king, in order to open the way to a re-establishment of good order and friendship, and that the British forces should be withdrawn from the populous towns in the provinces, so soon as the rigour of the season would render it practicable: and that their petitions should receive that attention and respect which the people merited, as the offspring of the British nation. These well grounded opinions were supported by his Lordship in a most pathetic speech of great length, and were seconded by Lords Camden and Shelburne and the marquis of Rockingham; but they were finally rejected by a majority of two to one.

On the 26th of January, Doctor Franklin, Mr. Bolan and Mr. Lee, offered another petition to the house, stating that they were authorised by the American congress to present it to the king, and had been referred by his majesty to that house, and that they would be able to throw much light upon the subject, if they were permitted to be heard at the bar, in support of its contents. The friends of the ministry refused a discussion on the subject, and insulted the application by remarking that it contained nothing but frivolous and pretended grievances: it was rejected by a large majority. Lord Chatham persevered in his conciliatory scheme and presented to the house the outlines of a bill in the form of a provisional act to settle the disputes

in America, and ascertain the supreme legislative authority of the superintending power of Great-Britain over the colonies: this was also rejected, and not allowed even to lie on the table for consideration. This was succeeded by a joint address to the king, thanking him for the firm measures he had adopted to reduce the colonies to subjection, and strongly urged a perseverance of energetic measures to enforce the operation of his laws.

Before the adjournment of parliament, Lord North introduced a bill which he called *the conciliatory proposition*. The purport of it was, that the British parliament would forbear to tax any colony which should engage to make provision for contributing its proportion to the common defence, and make provision also for the support of civil government, and the administration of justice in each colony. This proposition was founded on no principle of reconciliation. Lord North at length acknowledged that his intention was, to divide the sentiments of the Americans and unite the people of Great-Britain. It was transmitted to the colonial governors in a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth, but the object was at once discovered and it had the effect of irritating and uniting, instead of dividing the public opinion in America.

Lord Effingham said, that whatever had been done in America, must be deemed the consequence of the unjust demands of Great-Britain. "They come to you with fair argument; you have refused to hear them:—they make the most respectful remonstrances; you have answered them with pains and penalties:—they know they ought to be free; you tell them that they shall be slaves. Is it then a wonder, if they say in despair, that for the short remainder of their lives, they *will* be free? Is there any one among your lordships, who in a situation similar to that I have described, would not resolve the same? If there could be such a one, I am sure he ought not to be here.

"To bring the history down to the present scene: here are two armies in presence of each other; armies of brothers and countrymen, each dreading the event, yet each feeling that it is in

the power of the most trifling accident—a private dispute—a drunken afay in any public house in Boston; in short, a nothing—to cause the sword to be drawn and to plunge the whole country into all the horrors of blood, flames and paricide. In this dreadful moment, a set of men, more wise and moderate than the rest, exert themselves to bring us all to reason. They state their claims and their grievances; nay, if any thing can be proved by law and history, they prove them. They propose oblivion, they make the first concessions: we treat them with contempt, we prefer poverty, blood and servitude; to wealth, happiness and liberty.

“What weight these observations may have, I don’t know; but the candour with which your lordships have indulged me, requires a confession on my part, which may still lessen that weight. I must own I am not personally disinterested. Ever since I was of an age to have any ambition at all, my highest has been to serve my country in a military capacity. If there was on earth an event I dreaded, it was to see my country so situated as to make that profession incompatible with my duty as a citizen. That period is in my opinion arrived, and I have thought myself bound to relinquish the hopes I had formed, by a resignation, which appeared to me the only method of avoiding the guilt of enslaving my country and embruing my hands in the blood of her sons.*

“When the duties of a soldier and a citizen become incompatible, I shall always think myself obliged to sink the character of the soldier into that of the citizen, till such time as these duties shall again, by the malice of our enemies, become united. It is no small sacrifice which a man makes who gives up his profession; but it is a much greater, when a predilection strengthened by habit, has given him so strong an attachment to his profession as I feel. I have however, this consolation, that by making that sacrifice, I give to my country an unequivocal proof of the sincerity of my principles.”

* Effingham held a colonel’s commission in the British army, which he resigned because his regiment was ordered to America.

Chatham, Effingham, Burke, Richmond, Wilkes, Glynn and Camden, who distinguished themselves as advocates for American rights, on this occasion, were complimented by naming a county after each of them in Georgia, by the constitution of 1777. The other county was called Liberty, from the circumstance of its sending a representative to congress before the province had openly acceded to the union.

In conformity with a resolution entered into the last year by the corresponding committees of this colony, their deputies met in Savannah, on the 18th of January, endeavoring as near as possible to conform to the resolutions entered into by the other colonies; and the particular measures now adopted, for carrying into execution the continental association, on condition, that trade and commerce should be extended to this colony by the others, and her delegates received in congress. The apprehension of the consequences, which would attend these measures, gave a temporary check to their joining in the common cause, and the deputies adjourned without coming to any definite agreement.

When these deputies returned to their respective parishes, the cautious steps which had been adopted, received the sanction of their constituents, except in the parish of St. John, where twenty-one members of the committee were convened on the 9th of February, and addressed a circular letter to the other colonial committees, soliciting their consent to the reception of a member of congress, as a representative from that particular parish. Encouraged by the answers which were received, the committee again convened on the 21st of March, and Doctor Lyman Hall, was unanimously elected to represent that parish in congress at Philadelphia.* In order to insure his reception, sundry resolutions were entered into, binding themselves to exclude from that parish, the use of prohibited articles,

* Doctor Hall carried with him from Sunbury, a present of one hundred and sixty barrels of rice, and fifty pounds sterling, for the suffering republicans in Boston, who had opposed the British army under General Gage.

and to conform to all the rules and regulations, which had been, or should thereafter be laid down by congress, for the government of the other provinces. A petition was also forwarded to that Honorable body, soliciting that Lyman Hall, Esquire, might be received and admitted as a member.

Doctor Hall announced his arrival at congress on the 13th of May, and desired to be informed, whether he might be permitted to take a seat. It was agreed unanimously, that he should be admitted as a delegate from the parish of St. John, in the colony of Georgia, subject to such regulations as congress should thereafter determine, relative to his voting. During the deliberations of that body, it became necessary to take the opinion of congress by colonies, upon which a question arose, whether the delegate from the parish of St. John, in the colony of Georgia, should be admitted to vote. Doctor Hall replied, that the distressing situation of American affairs, had induced the necessity of the convention of congress, which was composed of delegates representing whole colonies; that as he represented but a small section of a colony, he could not insist on giving a vote, but would be contented in hearing and assisting in the deliberations, and to give his vote in all cases, except when it became necessary to take the opinion of congress by colonies; that he hoped the example which had been set by the parish which he then represented, would be followed by the others from Georgia, and that the representation would soon be complete.

General Gage had arrived at Boston in May 1774, with a fleet and army, and assumed the government of Massachusetts. War commenced soon after and several battles and skirmishes were fought, in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. When this intelligence reached Savannah, the indignation of the people was roused, and the ferment soon extended to every parish in the province.

The magazine at the eastern extremity of the city of Savannah contained a considerable quantity of ammunition. The magazine was sunk about twelve feet under ground, enclosed

with brick, and secured by a door in such way, that governor Wright thought it useless to have it guarded. To gain possession of this valuable prize, which had already become in great demand among the revolutionists in the northern states, was an object no longer to be delayed. A few of the patriots had a meeting at the house of Doctor Jones, and concerted the plan of operation. On the night of the 11th of May, Noble W. Jones, Joseph Habersham, Edward Telfair, William Gibbons, Joseph Clay, John Milledge and some other gentlemen, principally members of the council of safety, and zealous in the American cause, broke open the magazine at a late hour of the night, took out the powder, sent a part of it to Beaufort in South-Carolina, and concealed the remainder in their cellars and garrets. Governor Wright issued a proclamation, offering a reward of one hundred and fifty pounds sterling for apprehending the offenders and bringing them to punishment; but the secret was not disclosed until the Americans had occasion to use the ammunition in defence of their rights and property.

On the 1st of June, governor Wright and the loyal party at Savannah, ordered preparations to be made for the celebration of the king's birth day. On the night of the 2nd, a number of the inhabitants of the town collected, spiked up all the cannon on the battery and hurled them to the bottom of the bluff. With difficulty a few of the spikes were drawn and drilled out, and the guns re-mounted to perform the usual ceremonies.

On the 21st of June, a notice was given in the *Gazette*, signed by Noble W. Jones, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, and George Walton, Esquires, requesting the inhabitants of the town and district of Savannah, to meet at the liberty pole the ensuing day, at ten o'clock, agreeably to a previous notice; for the purpose of choosing a committee to enforce the association with the other colonies in the cause of freedom. It was hoped that the alarming situation of American affairs in general, and of this province in particular would prompt every man to be punctual in his attendance. A council of safety was nominated,

of which major William Ewen, was appointed president, William Le Conte, Joseph Clay, Basil Cooper, Samuel Elbert, William Young, Elisha Butler, Edward Telfair, John Glenn, George Houstoun, George Walton, Joseph Habersham, Francis H. Harris, John Smith and John Morel, Esquires, members; and Seth John Cuthbert, secretary. This body was instructed to keep up a correspondence with congress at Philadelphia, the councils of safety in the other provinces, and the committees in the several parishes in Georgia. After this business was closed, a number of gentlemen dined at Tondee's tavern, where the union flag was hoisted upon the liberty pole, and two pieces of artillery placed under it. After dinner, thirteen patriotic toasts were drunk, each succeeded by a discharge of cannon and martial music.

By one of the resolutions entered into, it was declared, that this province should not afford protection to, nor become an asylum for any person or persons whomsoever, who from their conduct should be considered inimical to the common cause of America; or should have drawn upon themselves the disapprobation or censure of any of the other colonies. Notwithstanding these resolutions, a young man by the name of Hopkins, had the temerity to express himself contumaciously of the objects of the meeting, and to superadd illnatured epithets of ridicule, which he applied to the gentlemen who composed the committee of public safety. In consequence of this indiscretion, he was subjected to the painful obloquy of being tarred and feathered by a mob, who to complete his disgrace and render more conspicuous the popular feelings, hoisted him in a cart, which was illuminated for the occasion, and paraded with a crowded retinue through the principal streets of the town, four or five hours.

A similar circumstance occurred soon after in Augusta, by order of the parish committee of that place. Thomas Brown and William Thompson had expressed their enmity to the American cause, accompanied by toasts at a dinner, ridiculing their procedure. A party pursued them to New-Richmond in

South-Carolina. Thompson escaped, but Brown was brought back, and after undergoing a trial before the committee, was sentenced to be tarred and feathered, and publicly exposed in a cart, to be drawn three miles, or until he was willing to confess his error and take an oath that he would thereafter give his aid and assistance to the cause of freedom.

The hostility of the governors of the southern provinces, to the claims of the colonies, rendered it necessary to watch their actions, and to counteract their measures, by every means that could be devised. To this end, secret committees had been appointed in South-Carolina. In one of the mails, proceeding to the northward, one of the committees found a letter addressed by governor Wright to general Gage, requesting the aid of a military force, to enable him to keep in check the rebellious spirit of the people of Georgia, and to preserve a friendly correspondence with the neighbouring nations of Indians. The committee forwarded this letter to congress; and substituted for it another, under an imitated signature of governor Wright, which was placed in the mail—purporting, that the people of Georgia had become quiet, and resigned to the will of the royal government; that such an unexpected change in the state of the colony, rendered it unnecessary to send any military assistance to the southward. In the mean time general Gage had applied military force in the northern provinces, wherever there was an appearance of resistance to the laws of England.

In July, the council of safety in South-Carolina sent proposals to Cameron, the British agent with the Cherokee Indians, through major Andrew Williamson, who was his countryman, and with whom, he was in habits of friendship; offering for his acceptance, a salary equal to that which he received from the British government, and a remuneration for any losses which he might sustain by joining in the interests of the colonies. It was of great consequence to obtain the neutrality of the Cherokee Indians, and it was believed, that by securing the friendly offices of Mr. Cameron, who was influential with that

nation, that important object would be obtained. Cameron declined the overture; nor would he enter into any engagements which would be at variance with such instructions as he might receive from the British government. Soon after this conference, he consulted his personal safety by retiring into the midst of the Cherokee nation. This movement of Cameron, gave cause of alarm to the frontier settlers, although he had disavowed the receipt of any instructions from Stewart, the principal superintendant of Indian affairs, which would tend to hostility with the frontiers of Georgia or Carolina.

The situation of Georgia was inauspicious. It was but thinly inhabited, on a territory about one hundred and fifty miles from north to south; and about thirty miles from east to west. It presented a western frontier of two hundred and fifty miles. It had on the north-west the Cherokees; on the west, the Creeks; on the south, a refugee banditti in Florida; and on the east, the influence of governor Wright, who controled the king's ships on the sea-coast. The population of the eastern district of the province, was composed of white people and negro slaves; the latter, the most numerous, the former but few in number. A great majority of the inhabitants was favourable to the cause of the colonies: yet, from surrounding dangers, their measures were to be adopted with cautious circumspection.

A general election was held for delegates, to meet at Savannah, on the 4th day of July. The members accordingly assembled; and the 15th of that month, they appointed the honourable Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, John Joachim Zubly, Noble Wimberly Jones, and Lyman Hall, Esquires, to represent this province in congress, at Philadelphia. The resolution for this measure was signed by fifty-three members, who pledged themselves for its support; and their proceedings were communicated to congress, then in session, accompanied by a declaration, that this province was determined to unite in, and adhere to the common cause of the provinces.

During the session of the delegates in Savannah, captain

Maitland from London arrived at Tybee, with thirteen thousand pounds of powder, and other articles for the use of the British troops, and for the Indian trade. It was determined to obtain possession of that valuable prize, without loss of time: accordingly about thirty volunteers, under the command of commodore Brown and colonel Joseph Habersham, embarked on board of two boats, proceeded down the river Savannah to the ship, took possession of her, and discharged the crew. A guard was left on board of the ship, and the powder brought to town and secured in the magazine. Five thousand pounds of the powder was sent to the patriots near Boston.

Among the number who were concerned in taking the ship, was Ebenezer Smith Plat. This gentleman was afterward taken by the enemy, and identified by two of the ship's crew. He was sent to England under a charge of treason, and remained several years in gaol; but was eventually considered a prisoner of war, and exchanged.

CHAPTER III.

IN August several letters were received by the president of the council of safety, advising him that the southern frontier was menaced with hostility from St. Augustine, aided by the Indians; if Georgia refused to co-operate with the British, in quelling the revolt in South-Carolina. The council was immediately convened, and the following proclamation issued by president Ewen:

“GEORGIA.

“Whereas, among other things it was resolved by the last provincial legislature, that a new election be held at such times between the day of adjournment and the 1st day of September next, as the inhabitants of the several parishes and districts should think fit respectively, and that the members so elected, should meet in Savannah on the 4th day of December next, or sooner if the council of safety should think it expedient: this board therefore, earnestly recommend to the several parishes and districts within the province, to proceed without delay to the choice of delegates, to represent them in the next provincial legislature, agreeably to the number limited, and in manner and form as prescribed at the last assembly.”

In conformity with this proclamation, elections were held in the parishes and districts, for representatives, and in every instance, such men were selected as were known to be friendly to the cause of the colonies, and opposed to the political plans of Great-Britain. On the 15th of September, Lord William Campbell, the British governor of South-Carolina, had dismounted the cannon of the battery at fort Johnson, and taken refuge on board the Tamer man of war, then lying in Rebellion road. The same night, the provincial troops took possession of the battery, remounted the cannon, and made the necessary preparations for defending the town. When these circumstances were communi-

cated to president Ewin, he issued his proclamation, requiring the provincial legislature to convene at Savannah on the 16th of November, when and where, all the members elected to represent the several parishes and districts in this province, were summoned to attend, and take under consideration, such important matters as should then be laid before them.

In September or October, Lord Campbell ordered general Patrick Cunningham, to hold in readiness the friends of the royal government, between Broad and Saluda rivers, to quell any opposition which might be made to the measures of Great Britain.

To secure the friendship of the Cherokee nation of Indians, had occupied the early attention of the council of safety in the southern provinces. The Indians being deprived of their ordinary supplies, by the interruption of their trade through South-Carolina and Georgia, were in ill humour and manifested a hostile temper. It was therefore judged expedient to furnish them with ammunition for their hunting season, to enable them to supply their families with necessary support. The council of safety in Charleston sent them one thousand weight of powder, and a proportionable quantity of lead, under an escort of twenty Rangers, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Charlton, who was charged with the distribution of it among the Indians. General Cunningham and major Bowman with about one hundred and fifty loyalists, way-laid the party as they passed through Ninety-six district, took possession of the ammunition, and disarmed the guard.

Upon the receipt of intelligence of this event, major Andrew Williamson ordered into service the militia of his battalion, and called for assistance from Georgia, with the intention of dispersing Cunningham's party. He was joined by captain Jacob Colson, with his company, consisting of about sixty minute men; and on mustering his force, found it to consist of between three hundred and fifty, and four hundred men; with which he advanced to Ninety-six.

When Williamson's movements were communicated to Cunningham, he assembled the loyalists, who numbered fifteen hundred or more, and advanced to meet Williamson; who calculating on a superiority of numbers in the ranks of his opponent, had constructed a stockade fort with fence rails, sufficient in extent for his troops, on the hill which is separated from Ninety-six by the spring, which supplied the inhabitants of that village with water. There was no water in the fort; but Williamson expected to be able to supply his troops with that necessary fluid, from the spring. Major Williamson had supplied himself with some swivels, which he placed to the best advantage. On the 19th of November, in the forenoon, the advanced parties of the enemy were skirmished by parties from the fort; in this rencontre, the Americans had several men wounded, and they retreated into the fort. General Cunningham took possession of the village and gaol, about three hundred yards from the fort, which enabled him to command the water. Williamson was attacked on all sides, from behind houses, trees, logs, stumps and fences; but no trenches were opened. On the second day of the attack, the enemy constructed mantelets, with an intention to approach the fort and set it on fire; but they could not manage them so as to answer their intentions, and they were burned: the beseiged were summoned to surrender, but the proposition was rejected. On the third day a sortie was arranged, to be commanded by captains Pickens, M'Call, Middleton, Anderson, Sinqufield and Colson, with twenty men each, to attack the enemy at different points, at the same time: this was not executed, by reason of a suspension of hostilities being proposed by general Cunningham for twenty days, and agreed to by major Williamson. In this agreement each party was at liberty to send to their respective authorities, unsealed despatches, informing them of the event, and their situation. The American party had sustained themselves without water, and but short allowance of provisions for three days without a murmur; and their stock of ammunition became nearly expended. Gen-

eral Cunningham was induced to propose the suspension of hostilities, on receiving intelligence, that colonels Richardson and Thompson, with a formidable re-inforcement, were approaching to the relief of major Williamson.

The terms of the suspension of hostilities were signed on the 22d of November. Captain Colson and his company were discharged, after receiving the compliments of major Williamson, for their courage and activity during the siege. In this affair, the besieged lost one man, James Birmingham, killed; and thirteen wounded. The loss of the enemy was not accurately known; but afterward acknowledged to be fifty-two men killed and wounded.

The militia were discharged, and returned to their respective homes; but, were directed to reassemble at Ninety-six, at the termination of the truce.

Captain Colson and his company marched to the place of rendezvous on the day appointed, and joined major Williamson: the condition of things had materially changed. Colonel Richardson's command, was near two thousand men; and the enemy, in the fork of Broad and Saluda rivers, was reduced to six hundred. The Americans marched in quest of them, and attacked them by surprise, on the morning of the 24th of December. The loyalists were totally routed; several of their leaders were captured; and such as escaped, made their way toward Florida, and the neighbouring Indian nations, for safety.

On the night of the 25th was a great fall of snow, supposed to be deeper on the ground, than what had ever before been witnessed in the southern provinces. In Georgia it was generally, eighteen inches deep; and from this circumstance, this was called the *snow campaign*. The troops having no tents, and generally, not well provided with thick cloathing, suffered severely. When the Georgia troops were discharged, they had to march one hundred miles knee deep in the snow.

John Stewart, the superintendant of Indian affairs, had fixed the head quarters of his agency at St. Augustine, and ap-

pointed his brother, Henry Stewart, his deputy, for the purpose of keeping open a communication with Alexander Cameron, agent among the Cherokees. Notwithstanding the great obligations which Stewart was under to the people of South-Carolina, whose government had made him a donation of fifteen hundred pounds sterling, and from whose recommendation he was appointed superintendant of Indian affairs: yet in fifteen years after, we find him a violent opponent to those friends, when they were struggling for freedom. Early in the contest, he had settled a plan in concert with the king's governors, and other officers engaged in the royal cause, to land an army in Florida, and to proceed with a part of it to the western frontiers of Georgia and Carolina, and there, in conjunction with the loyalists and Indians, to assail the friends of the revolution. For this purpose he had employed colonel Moses Kirkland, of the Carolina refugees, to proceed to Boston, and concert the plan of operations with general Gage, commander-in-chief of the British forces in America. After the arrangement was digested, Gage was to communicate the result to the lieutenant-governor at St. Augustine, from whence a party was to attack Georgia upon the south. When Kirkland was on his way to Boston, he was taken prisoner, and these letters were found in his possession. The Indian talk to Cameron, which is mentioned in the letters, contained assurances from the Cherokees, that they were ready to attend Cameron, and massacre the back settlers of Georgia and Carolina. A letter was also found with Kirkland, from the lieutenant-governor to general Grant, containing a description of Carolina and Georgia. and pointing out the most accessible points of attack by the British and Indians, through the aid of Stewart and Cameron, who adopted every possible means of exasperating them against the inhabitants of these provinces, who were friendly to the measures of congress. In this letter, he says, "I hope the general will not take any more of the troops from us; I think he has already weakened us too much: consider the fort and its con-

tents; consider what our neighbours are willing to do; consider also, that this is the best and only immediate communication between Great-Britain and our red brothers. The best friends of Great-Britain are in the back parts of Carolina and Georgia: if the Indians were put in motion, they would suffer, and not the rebels: but this will be delivered to you by colonel Moses Kirkland, who comes express to general Gage; to him I refer you—what he tells you, you may depend on. I think he may be made a powerful instrument in the hands of government, should any thing be done this way, which I think ought immediately to be undertaken: he knows every inch of Carolina, every road and bye-road, every creek and swamp, every person, and has a most extensive influence; is resolute, active and enterprising, and I think ought to receive the earliest encouragement: he has not had a liberal education, but possesses clear, strong and manly sense, and I think he is entirely to be depended on.”

These and many other letters to the same purport, were found in Kirkland's possession; all tending to encourage a junction with the Creek and Cherokee Indians, against that part of the inhabitants of Georgia and Carolina, who were friendly to the measures of congress; but how to discriminate between the latter and those who were attached to the royal cause, puzzled them. Henry Stewart had projected a plan, which was found in Kirkland's possession; but it was wild and deceptive. These arrangements were partially frustrated by the capture of the vessel which was conveying Kirkland to Boston. The letters found in his possession, were forwarded to congress and published. The alarm which this species of warfare excited upon the frontiers, where the Indian customs were well known, can scarcely be imagined. Though this discovery of the British designs and the capture of Kirkland, who was to have had an active share in the execution of them, in a great measure frustrated the plans of the royal servants, yet they were so far carried into effect, that the Cherokees commenced their massacres on the frontiers, at the same time that the British fleet appeared

off Charleston, in the month of June. In the execution of this plan, the friends and enemies of the British cause, participated equally in personal sufferings and pecuniary losses. The season for gathering the harvest of their labours, had just commenced; part of it was not yet cut, and the balance remained in the fields. Their houses were burned, and their fences laid open, inviting destruction by such horses, cattle and hogs, as had not been taken off by the Indians. The royal party complained that they had not been sheltered by their political opinions and feelings, from the universal distresses and calamities, which fell upon every part of the frontier.

The danger, particularly with which Georgia was threatened from every quarter, and the ruinous consequences anticipated from an open and decided part in the contest, prevented the provincial assembly from forming a house until the 20th of January, when Archibald Bulloch, Esquire was chosen president of the executive council, and Edward Langworthy, secretary. President Ewin of the committee of safety, laid before the house a variety of documents, representing the oppression of the other colonies to the north, and the united zeal with which the British troops had been opposed. Among other papers, was the address of the house of commons to the king, at the opening of parliament, on the 28th of October, 1775. After having represented the seduction of the American colonies from their allegiance under misrepresentations and insidious pretences, by which they had been made the instruments of the ambition and treacherous designs of those dangerous men, who had led them step by step to the standard of rebellion; that they now assumed the powers by sovereign authority, which was exercised in a despotic arbitrary manner over the persons and property of the deluded people. That they took a sincere part in the king's benevolent desire, rather to reclaim than to subdue the American colonies, and regretted that it was not possible, without the effusion of the blood of their fellow-subjects; but still hoped that the American people would have discernment

enough to see the treacherous views of their leaders, and consider the ruinous consequences which would attend, even the success of their plans. They then offered their entire concurrence with the king, that it then became the part of wisdom and clemency, to put a speedy end to these disasters by the most decisive exertions; that they learned with the greatest satisfaction, that the king had increased his naval establishment and greatly augmented his land forces; and that he had adopted the economical plan of drawing as many regiments from outposts as could be spared, to subdue the American colonies, and bring them to a proper sense of their dependance upon the British government: they hoped that this force would soon bring the misled colonies to a correct idea of their error; and closed by thanking him for the authority he had given to his colonial governors, to offer pardon to such as would return to their allegiance; and promising their cordial co-operation in the augmentation of the navy and army, if the objects contemplated should require it. Every exertion of the American advocates in parliament, in opposition to these measures, proved vain and ineffectual.

After the documents which had been laid before the assembly were read; the house entered into a resolution to embark with the other provinces in the common cause, with the utmost zeal, to resist and be free. Orders were given to seize governor Wright, and disperse his council. At that time the Syren, Raven, Tamer and Cherokee, British armed ships, were lying at Tybee, in the mouth of Savannah river. A schooner was sunk on Bryan's bank to prevent their getting up to town, and many of the inhabitants removed with their effects into the country. A resolution was passed forbidding any person under any pretext whatsoever, to conduct any vessel of war into the ports or inlets of this province, without permission derived from the assembly, and required the citizens to use their utmost endeavours to bring offenders to exemplary punishment.

On the 18th of January, Joseph Habersham, Esq. who was

then a member of the house, raised a party of volunteers, took governor Wright prisoner, paroled him to his house, and placed a sentinel at his door; prohibiting all intercourse with the members of his council, the king's officers, or other persons who were supposed to be inimical to the American cause. The governor became tired of confinement, and with the assistance of John Mulryne, effected his escape from the back part of his house, on the night of the 11th of February. He went down the river about five miles by land to Bonaventure, where Mulryne lived, and where a boat and crew were waiting for him; from thence he passed through Tybee creek and got on board the armed ship Scarborough, from whence he wrote the following letter to James Mackay, and the other members of his council, at Savannah.

"February 13th, 1776.

"HONORABLE GENTLEMEN,

"After using my best endeavours for upward of three weeks, to prevail on those in whose hands the present ruling powers are, that the commanders of his majesty's ships here might obtain assurances that they might come to town and have free intercourse with me, without receiving any insults from the people assembled in and about town; also that the king's ships might be supplied with provisions, on paying the full price or value of them: and finding that the last message relative to these matters, which I desired the representatives of the town of Savannah, to deliver to the persons exercising those powers, was so lightly treated and little regarded, as that, although delivered on Tuesday morning the 6th instant, yet I received no kind of answer to it for five days; nor did I understand, whether it was meant to give me any answer or not: and well knowing that it was essential to his majesty's service, and the welfare of this province, that I should have an interview with the king's officers here: for these reasons, and many others, which you were made acquainted with and approved of, I determined in all events to attempt coming down here, where I arrived at three

o'clock yesterday morning. And after having examined and duly weighed and considered my several letters from England, and general Howe at Boston; and after having had a full conversation with his majesty's officers here, I have the great satisfaction to be able to affirm, from the best authority, that the forces now here, will not commit any hostilities against this province, although fully sufficient to reduce and overcome every opposition that could be attempted to be made; and that nothing is meant, or wanted, but a friendly intercourse and a supply of fresh provisions. This his majesty's officers have an unbounded right to expect, and what they insist upon; and this I not only solemnly require in his majesty's name, but also, as (probably) *the best friend the people of Georgia have*, advise them without the least hesitation to comply with, or it may not be in my power to insure them the continuance of the peace and quietude they now have, if it may be called so.

"His majesty has been graciously pleased to grant me leave to return to England, and (whatever may be thought) my regard for the province and people is such that I cannot avoid, (and possibly for the last time) exhorting the people to save themselves and their posterity from that total ruin and destruction, which although they may not, yet I most clearly see at the threshold of their doors; and I cannot leave them without again warning them, in the most earnest and friendly manner, to desist from their present plans and resolutions: it is still in their power, and if they will enable me to do it, I will (as far as I can) engage to give, and endeavour to obtain for them, full pardon and forgiveness for all passed crimes and offences; and this I conjure you to consider well, and most seriously of, before it's too late: but, let things happen as they may, be it remembered, that I this day, in the king's name, offer the people of Georgia the olive branch, that most desirable object, and inestimable blessing, the return of peace and happiness, to them and their posterity.

"Captain Barclay has desired me to notify, that he is willing

and ready to give every assistance in his power to the captains of all such merchant ships as may be legally cleared out, to enable them to proceed on their respective voyages. I am also to acquaint you, that the detention of the schooner on Friday or Saturday last, proceeded entirely from a mistake by the officer who commanded the armed sloop, and that, if the owner will send down, the schooner will not only be delivered up, but any reasonable price will be paid for the damaged rice that was on board, part of which has been used to feed hogs and poultry, or they may take it away again. I am also to mention, that the same armed sloop will be sent up tomorrow, to Four-mile point, in order to get fresh water, and for no other purpose. This letter, which I consider as of the utmost consequence and importance to the whole people of Georgia, I must desire you will be pleased to communicate to the assembly, if sitting, and if not, to those who are called the council of safety, and especially to the inhabitants of the town and province in general, and acquaint them, that I shall expect their full and clear answer to every part of it, in a reasonable time.

I am, with perfect esteem, gentlemen,

Your most obedient and faithful servant,

JAMES WRIGHT.

The assembly had passed a resolution to raise a battalion of continental troops, and on the 4th of February, the following field officers were appointed to command it: Lachlan M'Intosh, colonel; Samuel Elbert, lieutenant-colonel; and Joseph Habersham, major.

On the 2nd of February, Archibald Bulloch, John Houstoun, Lyman Hall, Button Gwinnett, and George Walton, Esquires, were elected to represent this province, in congress, at Philadelphia. Bills of credit were issued, in the form of certificates, and resolutions entered into, for the punishment of those who refused to receive them in payment of debts, or at par, for any article which was offered for sale.

The legislature adjourned on the 21st of February, without giving governor Wright any satisfactory answer to his letter of the 13th, which determined him to force his way up to the town and procure such supplies as he wanted for the use of the armed vessels in the harbour.

The resolutions of congress, prohibiting commercial intercourse between the American colonies and the British dominions, had prevented the British armed vessels upon the coast, from procuring a sufficient supply of provisions for their crews. The British determined to force a trade into Savannah river, and the other harbours along the coast of Georgia, where there was a great abundance of rice prepared for market, by a number of rich planters who were friendly to the royal government. When the prospect of gain was presented, these people felt no repugnance in contravening the resolutions of congress.

Early in March, eleven merchant vessels were laden with rice in Savannah river, and preparing for a sea voyage. To favour this design, and keep the inhabitants in awe, the Tamer, Cherokee, Scarborough, and a Sloop of War, under the command of captain Barclay, took their stations between Cockspur island and Five-fathom Hole, a few miles below the town. The enemy sounded the river on the north side of Hutchinson's island and found a sufficient depth of water to admit two of their vessels, which passed up with the intention of coming round the upper end of the island, and attacking the town at the most accessible point. Majors Maitland and Grant, disembarked with a land force; crossed over the island and embarked on board of a merchant vessel, which lay near the shore opposite the town. One of the armed vessels grounded on a bank, opposite to Raes Hall, from whence the crew was fired on by a company of riflemen, under the command of major Joseph Habersham, who would have taken it, if boats could have been procured to carry this detachment on board. The vessel floated at high water and sheared off.

Colonel M'Intosh sent a flag to Maitland and Grant, by captains Roberts and Demere, which was detained. Captains Scriven and Baker were detached with a party to demand the return of the flag, but were refused admittance and the party fired upon, by which one man was wounded and the boat almost sunk. Captain Bowen was ordered to set fire to two vessels lying in the stream, near the one on board of which Maitland and Grant had taken shelter. The first effort, which was made in the morning, did not succeed, because the tide was too far spent. The second attempt, made in the afternoon, was successful. The cable of the ship was slipped, while she was enveloped in flames, and drifted against the enemy: part of the British soldiers jumped overboard, and swam on shore: the officers and as many men as the boats could accommodate were carried on shore. Many of the soldiers stuck in the soft mud, and with difficulty reached the rice dams, with the loss of their arms.

The South Carolinians, not only observed the continental regulations, but on all occasions cheerfully co-operated with the friends of freedom, to prevent an infringement of them in Georgia. One hundred and fifty volunteers from Charleston, and three hundred and fifty of the country militia, under the command of colonel Bull, arrived at this critical moment, and aided in the dislodgement of the enemy. Three of the merchant vessels were burned, six dismantled and two escaped to sea. Before they sailed, a party of marines went on shore at Skidaway, to collect sea stores, but were driven off by lieutenant Hext's detachment of militia. In a skirmish at Cockspur, on the same day, lieutenants Jacob Oates, and Laroach, were killed.

Upon this trying occasion, the patriotism of the citizens of Savannah was tested, by a resolution which was offered by one of the members of the committee of safety; the purport of which was, that the houses in Savannah which were owned by those whose motto was LIBERTY OR DEATH, including houses which

belonged to widows and orphans, should be appraised; and in the event of the enemy's gaining possession of the city, the torch was to be applied in every direction, and the town was to be abandoned in smoking ruins. To the astonishment, even of those who made the proposition, when the republican party was convened, there was not one dissenting voice. Among the number, where this resolution originated, were many of the most wealthy inhabitants of Savannah, and some whose *all*, consisted of houses and lots. The houses of those persons, who were inimical to the American cause, were not to be noticed in the valuation. Committees were accordingly appointed, and in a few hours, returns were made to the council of safety. There are many instances of conflagration, by order of a monarch, "who can do no wrong," but there are but few instances upon record, where the patriotism of the citizen has urged him on to the destruction of his own property, to prevent its becoming an asylum to the enemies of his country. The resolution before mentioned, was put into the hands of colonel Lachlan M'Intosh, and published in a general order for the government of the troops.

The little execution that was done in Savannah, while it was apparently attacked by an avowed enemy; gives strong evidence that the hostile disposition of the opposing parties, was not yet roused. It was then considered as a family quarrel, which might yet be made up, by an accommodation of the existing differences between Great Britain and America. Therefore, a disposition to excite alarm by menaces, rather than to irritate by the shedding of blood, prevailed upon both sides, during the time that this partial attack was made upon Savannah. If this had not been the general disposition, certainly more men would have been killed and wounded.

When the legislature adjourned in August 1775, the hope was still cherished, that a negociation would be made through the medium of yielding on the part of the British government, the points for which the colonies so justly contended. These

delusive hopes were suddenly damped by an act of parliament, dated 21st of December, 1775. The letter accompanying this act, was addressed to governor Wright, directing the confiscation of the property of those who adhered to the principles contended for in the other colonies; and the withholding of the king's protection from all the colonies, which refused implicit obedience to the laws of the crown. The act extended to the prohibition of intercourse, between the British nation and all the colonies, from Massachusetts to Georgia, inclusively, during the continuance of their rebellion against the laws of England.

The inhabitants of the provinces, were charged with setting themselves up in open rebellion and defiance to the legal authority of the king and parliament, to which they had ever been subjects; and having assembled together, armed forces, engaged the king's troops, attacked his forts, usurped the power of government and prohibited all peaceable trade and commerce with his kingdom, and other parts of his dominions. For the speedy and effectual suppression of these daring designs, and for preventing any aid, supply, or assistance being afforded them, during the continuance of the rebellion and treasonable commotions, it was enacted—that all manner of trade and commerce should be prohibited with the colonies aforesaid, and that all ships or vessels, belonging to their inhabitants, with their cargoes, apparel and furniture; and all other ships or vessels, with their cargoes, which should be found trading in any of the ports of these colonies, or going to trade, or returning from trading with them; should be forfeited to the British government, as if such ships and their cargoes belonged to an enemy. And for the encouragement of the officers, seamen and soldiers, in the king's service, they were to be entitled to the sole interest and property of all such ships and cargoes of merchandise, as they should seize, belonging to the colonies or the inhabitants thereof, to be divided in such proportions, and after such manner, as the king should see fit to order and establish by proclamation, thereafter to be issued for that purpose.

This law had a tendency to rouse the lethargic spirits of many, who had previously been disposed to remain neuter, and strengthen the party disposed to establish an independent government in America. An express was despatched to Charleston, in South-Carolina, which arrived there at the critical period when the legislature was in session, and while the important debate was pending, whether they should establish an independent constitution, and separate from Great-Britain, or make another appeal, by petition, to the clemency of the British cabinet, for a re-establishment of the former order of things. The receipt of this law silenced the opposition, and determined the wavering in favour of an independent constitution. In one hour after this British act was read in the legislature of Carolina, an order was issued to seize a Jamaica vessel, laden with sugar, and in preparation to sail for London; the proceeds of which, were appropriated to the public service.

Governor Tonnyn, of East-Florida, had previously commissioned privateers, to cruise on the coast of the southern provinces, to plunder the property of the inhabitants, and the adventures of merchants lying in the harbours.

The loyalists, who had fled from the Carolinas and Georgia, found a secure retreat in East-Florida: and the southern settlers in Georgia, had been frequently disturbed by the predatory incursions of these banditti, who bore the appellation of Florida Rangers. The more effectually to excite terror in the inhabitants, they had constantly small parties of Indians in their train. Property which was moveable, conflagration and murder, were the principal objects of their enterprise. They had no attachment for king, country, or any thing at variance with pillage and interest. Germyn Wright, the brother of governor Wright, constructed a fort on St. Mary's river, which became a general rendezvous and deposite, for the unworthy servants of a more unworthy cause and master. The destruction of this receptacle, became an object of great consequence.

For the desirable purpose of routing this nest of villains,

captain John Baker collected about seventy mounted volunteer militia, and marched to St. Mary's, observing the greatest secrecy in his operations, with a hope of surprising and demolishing the fort. This party approached undiscovered within a short distance of the fortress, taking advantage of a thick wood for concealment until dark, believing that the night would be the most favourable time for a surprise. Baker had been informed that a body of Indians had encamped in the vicinity of the fort, and that the combined forces of the enemy would greatly outnumber him: therefore, his hope of success, depended upon surprise, and a rapid retreat after the fort was destroyed. Unfortunately he was discovered by a negro, who gave notice of his number and approach. An alarm of three cannon was fired from the fort, and was answered by the schooner St. John, of eight guns, which lay two miles further down the river. A firing of musquetry commenced, but without effect. Captain Baker concluded, that a reinforcement would be sent from the schooner to the garrison; and, in order to cut off the communication, ordered a party to a landing below the fort; from whence, three armed boats were soon descried: the party concealed themselves until the boats came near the shore, when they opened their fire; several of the crew, of the boat in front, were killed and wounded: they called for quarter, which was granted to them; and they came to the shore and surrendered. Among the prisoners were captain Barkup, of the navy; and lieutenant Bucher, of the army. The other boats escaped under cover of the night. From one of the prisoners, who was wounded, information was received that a large body of Indians were encamped on the opposite side of the river, not far distant from the fort. When Baker received this intelligence, it was early in the night; he retreated eight or nine miles and encamped. Daniel and James M'Girth, who were privates in Baker's command, were both on guard; they devised the plan, and executed it, of stealing the horses belonging to the party, and deserted with the greater part of them to the enemy. For

this act of treachery, and expertness in stealing, Daniel M'Girth was appointed lieutenant-colonel of the Florida Rangers, commanded by colonel Thomas Brown; and he improved, afterward, in the art by which he had gained promotion. James M'Girth, whose talents were less conspicuous, was rewarded by a commission of captain in the same corps. Chagrined, and disappointed, by the failure of the enterprise and loss of his horses, by the treachery of part of his command, so unexpectedly practised upon him, Baker returned to Georgia.

When the attack was made on Savannah, the legislature thought it advisable to adjourn to Augusta, where they could progress with some temporary arrangements, for civil and military government. They had no constitutional plan of government for their guide: they could only enter into resolutions, to encourage resistance to the British government, and carry on a communication with congress and the constituted authorities of the other colonies. The legislature convened at Augusta, on the 8th day of March, and appointed John Wereat, speaker of the assembly. The defects in the system of managing public affairs, was soon demonstrated. The judiciary system was running into confusion: although the criminal laws were still in force, they were virtually invalid, by the want of proper officers to execute them: so, also, were the other laws of the province. It was necessary to form some regular plan of government; and to appoint officers to fill the different departments, to put the laws into execution. When these subjects were brought before the house of assembly for discussion, many of the members were opposed to acting on them; alledging that they had no authority to do so, from their constituents: they agreed, however, to submit the subject, for the consideration of the people; and in the mean time the president and provincial council, were vested with power to exercise the executive functions. They also agreed to the appointment of such officers as were necessary in the judiciary department: John Glenn was appointed chief justice, and William Stephens attorney general.

CHAPTER IV.

CAPTAIN WILLIAM FREEMAN had been appointed by the republican government of South Carolina, to meet some of the Cherokee chiefs and head men at Seneca, on the frontier, and near the line of separation between the two states. His instructions were to communicate the friendly disposition of the white people toward the Indians; to draw the assurances of friendship from them, if possible, and to use every argument to dissuade them from taking an active part in the war, between the United States and Great-Britain. Though he obtained these promises, he felt assured that Cameron's influence would prevail over the Indians in the adoption of any measure, which the interest of the royal government might induce him to recommend.

When Cameron was first appointed agent for the Cherokee tribe of Indians, by the British government, he had opened two extensive farms on the frontier of Carolina, near Savannah river, one of which he named *Lochaber*, and the other *Diamond Hill*: on these farms he had placed a number of negroes, and a number of horses and cattle; from the produce of which, he promised himself an independent fortune in a few years. To secure his influence among the Indians, regardless of what he owed to propriety, or the customs of a civilized country; he selected an Indian woman from one of the most influential families in the Cherokee nation, whom he took to his house as a mistress, and placed her at the head of his table. Her dress and equipage were of the richest kind that the country could afford; his furniture was elegant, and mode of living sumptuous. To increase his influence, through the means of his mistress, the royal presents were distributed among the Indians, under her immediate direction. When he saw the storm gathering in 1775, he consulted his personal safety in removing into the nation, where he was constantly surrounded by his red brethren. Captain Freeman foresaw that the promises of

peace, made by the Indians, were not to be relied on, while they were under the baleful influence of Cameron; and accordingly reported his opinion to the council of safety, in Carolina, after he returned from the conference. At this time the southern states, particularly Georgia, had every horror to anticipate from a ferocious host, under the guidance of such leaders as Stewart and Cameron. From the customary implements and mode of warfare, by these ferocious tribes of savages, the inhabitants looked forward with dread and horror, to murder and conflagration. The distresses attending flight and pecuniary ruin, presented the only prospect of personal safety.

The committee saw no other mean of averting these calamities, but by seizing Cameron's person and bringing him out of the nation by stratagem. This hazardous enterprise, through the agency of colonel Andrew Williamson, was confided to captain James M'Call, lieutenant James Baskin, and ensign Patrick Calhoun, with a detachment of twenty-two volunteers from Carolina and eleven from Georgia. The pretended object of this detachment was, that they were to proceed to a number of the largest towns in the Cherokee country, hold friendly conferences with their chiefs, and demand the restoration of such property as had been plundered by the loyal refugees and some unfriendly Indians, who had committed these depredations. The detachment rendezvoused at the Cherokee Ford, on Savannah river, on the 20th of June, and marched for the Cherokee nation. Every preparation was made for a rapid retreat, in case they were opposed by a superior force. The orders to the commander were, to proceed to Cane creek before he broke the seal of his private instructions, or disclosed the real object of the expedition to the men who composed the detachment. Finding there was no disposition to shrink from the task which was confided to the men individually, they passed through several Indian towns and villages, where they were met, and received, with every appearance of friendship and hospitality; professing a disposition to comply with the

requisitions which were made of them. On the evening of the 26th, they encamped in the vicinity of a large town, where M'Call made known his wishes to have a discussion with the chiefs upon the subject of his mission. The conference was spun out, until a late hour of the night, when to his surprise, himself and his interpreter, John Ballenger, were rushed upon by a party of warriors, and made prisoners. About the same moment, the detachment under Baskin and Calhoun were surrounded by several hundreds of Indians, who drove in the sentries and attacked the camp while the men were almost all asleep. The precautions which had been ordered by the commander, who was aware of the treachery belonging to the Indian character, had not been strictly regarded. The Indians rushed into the camp with guns, knives, and hatchets, and for a few minutes the contest was of the most sanguinary kind. So closely were they engaged, that James Little of Georgia, (afterward colonel Little) killed two Indians with his knife. Ensign Calhoun was wounded in the first onset, and the detachment overpowered by numbers, with the disadvantage of surprise, fled in disorder, cutting their way through the ranks of the enemy. Ensign Calhoun, John Holland, John Patterson, and John Huffman, were killed. After sufferings almost incredible, from fatigue and hunger, the remains of this detachment reached the settlement, in parties of three or four together, some on the 10th, some on the 11th, and others on the 12th day after the defeat. M'Call remained a prisoner for several weeks, and in order to give him some idea of the dreadful fate which awaited him, he was frequently brought up to the place of execution, to witness the torture under which his fellow prisoners expired. One instance is mentioned in his journal of a boy about twelve years of age, who was suspended by the arms between two posts, and raised about three feet from the ground. The mode of inflicting the torture, was by lightwood splits, of about eighteen inches long, made sharp at one end and fractured at the other, so that the torch might not be extinguished

by throwing it. After these weapons of death were prepared, and a fire made for the purpose of lighting them, the scene of horror commenced. It was deemed a mark of dexterity, and accompanied by shouts of applause, when an Indian threw one of these torches so as to make the sharp end stick into the body of the suffering youth, without extinguishing the torch. This description of torture was continued for two hours, before the innocent victim was relieved by death.

The alarm excited among the Indians, by the succeeding operations of the American troops, softened the rigour of M'Call's imprisonment. He took every opportunity of impressing on the minds of the Indians, the consequences of murdering a man who visited their towns, for the purpose of delivering friendly talks, and smoking the pipe of peace with them; and that if he was murdered, his countrymen would require a great deal of Indian blood to atone for his life. Councils were held to condemn him to death, and in one instance he was saved by a single voice. Efforts were made, through the medium of an Indian woman, to obtain an interview with Cameron; but he peremptorily refused seeing, or having any communication with him. It was inferred, from this extraordinary conduct of Cameron, that colonel Williamson had secretly communicated to him, the plan which was adopted to bring him out of the nation: this opinion was strengthened by the active part, afterward taken by Williamson, in the royal cause. Finally, M'Call effected his escape; and with one pint of parched, and a few ears of green corn, he traversed a mountainous desert of three hundred miles, on horseback, without a saddle; and on the ninth day after his escape; reached the frontiers of Virginia, where he fell in with the army under the command of colonel Christie, whom he joined, and returned to participate in the conquest of the Cherokees. M'Call being anxious to accomplish the original object, for which he was ordered into the Cherokee nation, proposed to colonel Christie, to permit him to select from his command, a few expert, active woodsmen,

to proceed a few days march in front of the army, imagining that Cameron might yet be taken. Christie acquiesced in the plan, and M'Call with four others, painted, and in Indian dress, entered the town in which Cameron resided, in the dusk of the evening, two days march in front of the army; but to the great disappointment of these adventurers, Cameron had taken his departure for Mobile the preceding morning.

On the night of the 30th of June, the frontier settlements, from Georgia to Virginia, were attacked by small parties of Indians, who fell upon single families at a fixed period. They murdered the weak and helpless, and made prisoners of a few of such as were able to bear the fatigue of a rapid march; for the purpose of making them the victims of their gratification, and objects on whom to glut their unfeeling and unprovoked vengeance.

Scouting parties of militia had been kept on the alert, on the frontier, and by their vigilance only five families of Georgians fell into the hands of the savages in the first attack. The frontier was assailed about the time of wheat harvest: the fences were opened by the Indians, which gave free access to horses, cattle, and hogs, and in a few days, the promising appearances of a plentiful harvest, exhibited a general mass of desolation and destruction. Families were crowded into stockade forts, subsisting upon coarse scanty morsels, and for many days without any kind of shelter from the weather.

Colonel Samuel Jack's regiment, consisting of the young and active, took the field; and the aged guarded the forts. An expedition had been projected against the Cherokees, in which, Virginia, North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, co-operated. Colonel Christie, with a regiment of Virginians; general Rutherford, with a body of militia from North-Carolina, joined by the Catawba Indians; colonel Williamson, with the South-Carolina militia; and colonel Jack's regiment from Georgia; by a previously concerted plan, fixed on the 15th of July, to march against the enemy, and attack and demolish

their towns and villages, at different points. They succeeded in destroying all the Indian settlements, eastward of the Appalachian mountains, and brought the nation to submission in less than three months, with the loss of forty or fifty men.

When the Virginia regiment marched to the Indian town, in which M'Call had been a prisoner, the commander was solicited to spare the hut of the Indian woman, through whose means he had made his escape. It was accordingly spared, and she was amply rewarded for her humanity.

When Cameron heard of the approach against the Cherokees; he placed himself at the head of the Indians, aided by the loyal refugees; and gave battle to a detachment of colonel Williamson's troops, from South-Carolina, near Seneca; and was their leader in several subsequent skirmishes. Finding that the Indians were doomed to submission, by the success of the American arms; he consulted his safety, and fled from the nation; passing through the Creek country to Pensacola and thence to East-Florida, where he joined Stewart at St. Augustine.

On the 28th of June, the British fleet entered the harbour of Charleston, and assaulted the fort on Sullivan's island. After two days hard fighting, by the gallant regiments under colonels Moultrie and Thomson, the British were repulsed with great loss. Though general Lee had taken every precaution to put the town in the best possible condition for defence; the fall of fort Moultrie would have left it in imminent hazard. At the same time, incursions were made upon the southern settlements, from East Florida, by Brown and M'Girth. These three points were attacked late in June and early in July. The latter attack was accompanied by less fatality than it otherwise would have been, by the defensible preparations which had been made at Darien, Barrington, (afterward fort Howe,) Beards bluff, on the Alatamaha, and fort M'Intosh on Sattilla river, which were garrisoned by companies, commanded by captains Harris, M'Intosh, Bostwick, and Winn; the whole under

the command of colonel Elbert. Bodies of observation were kept in motion between those posts, commanded by captains Scriven, Baker, and Cooper; and lieutenants Few and Williams. These precautions, though they were distressing to the thinly inhabited frontiers, of which they were chiefly composed; yet they gave temporary security against the incursions of small parties of the enemy. Immediately after the commencement of hostilities on the western frontier, the inhabitants strengthened their fortresses, and established a similar chain of communication and defence. Parties were also employed in collecting the remains of provision and other property, which had been left on the plantations.

Captain Thomas Dooley had just returned from Virginia, where he had been employed on the recruiting service, with about twenty men enlisted for the continental brigade in Georgia, but he had not yet joined his regiment. Anxious to commence his military career with laurels, he advanced against a party of Indians, encamped near the Oconee river. Though the enemy outnumbered him, four to one; he depended upon courage and discipline for victory. The Indians had kept their spies on the alert, and discovered his approach in time to lay an ambuscade, upon the route he had taken. About seven o'clock in the morning of the 22d of July, as he was passing through a cane swamp, near the Big shoals, he was attacked in front and flanks by a large body of Indians, covered by the cane. Early in the skirmish, Dooley received a ball in his leg which broke the bones above the ancle. Apparently regardless of his own condition and sufferings, he encouraged his men to continue the conflict, and set the example by firing his rifle twice at the enemy, after he had been wounded. Discovering that the commanding officer had fallen, the savages rushed out from the cane swamp to get possession of him. Lieutenant Cunningham, who was second in command, is said not to have resorted to those expedients which would have occurred to a man of courage and cool reflexion, by having his commanding officer

carried off the ground. On the contrary he was charged with consulting his own safety, in being among the first to make a disorderly retreat. When the retreat commenced, Dooley called to his men and requested them not to leave him in the hands of the Indians. The last man who saw him, said that he was endeavouring to defend himself with the butt end of his gun, though he was unable to stand. Cunningham and the remainder retreated to the settlements. Dooley and three of his men fell into the hands of the Indians and were murdered. Lieutenant Cunningham was afterward arrested and tried for cowardice, by a general court martial, but was acquitted. A few days after Dooley's defeat, captain John Pulliam had a skirmish with a party of Indians on Beaverdam creek, in which two Indians were killed and the remainder fled. Pulliam was wounded, and had one man killed. The forts were often waylaid by small parties of Indians, so as to cut off the communication with the adjoining settlements. In some instances provisions had been seized and destroyed or carried off. On the 12th of July a stock of provisions had been ordered to be laid in at the confluence of Broad and Savannah rivers to supply the troops under colonel Jack. Captain Elijah Clarke had been ordered with his company to obtain some waggons and escort the provisions to the rendezvous. In its vicinity, he was attacked by a body of Indians while he was crossing a creek. The Indians thought to create a panic by the sound of the war-whoop, succeeded by a vigorous attack. Clarke made a firm and vigorous defence, and after a contest, which lasted about an hour, the Indians retreated. Four Indians were killed: three of Clarke's men were killed, and himself and three others wounded. By these predatory incursions, the frontier settlers were very much harassed and distressed, before colonel Jack advanced to their assistance.

Colonel Jack's command on the expedition against the Cherokees, which has been heretofore alluded to, consisted of companies commanded by captains John Twiggs, John Jones, Leon-

ard Marbury, Samuel Alexander and Thomas Harris; the three former from Burke and Richmond, and the two latter from Wilkes. The whole number consisted of two hundred men.

He marched to the Cherokee towns on the waters of Tugaloe and Chatahouchie. The crops of corn were destroyed; the towns burned; and a number of cattle and horses were brought off, without the loss of one man. The other armies from the northward, entered the nation at different points, about the same time, which rendered this united expedition completely successful. The losses of the Cherokees and the defeats they had experienced, produced a temporary cessation of hostilities; but the people were greatly distressed by the loss of their crops. Many families were obliged to abandon the country for want of provision and many that remained, were reduced to the necessity of living upon beef, without either bread or salt.

The unfortunate and ill-fated Indians, who had been led into the war, by the influence of the British agents, discovered their error, when it was too late to provide corn for the support of their families. Numbers of them had been driven into the mountains, where they subsisted upon nuts and roots: others were forced by the pressure of hunger, into the settlements to beg for bread. Humbled by defeats and the destruction of their towns and property, they sued for peace, which was granted to them. A treaty was afterward held at Duet's corner in South-Carolina, at which the commissioners from Georgia attended, who concurred in and signed the articles of pacification. This treaty was signed on the 20th of May, 1777.

The haughty rudeness with which Great-Britain rejected the supplications of the colonies, for the redress of their grievances; and the plundering and savage warfare, which had been practised to awe them into submission to the arbitrary will of the king, had already alienated the affections of the colonists. There were but few of those American sages, who had been instrumental in efforts for redress of grievances, that had contem-

plated the eventual independence of the colonies: but, that few had circulated the idea of independence and like electricity, it communicated to the heart of every patriotic American. To contend as colonies for redress, for injustice inflicted on them by the parent country, was in the nature of a family quarrel, in which neighbouring nations could have no right to interfere; but when the colonies should assume the rank of an independent nation, they would thereby evince a determination to maintain their rank as such, by force of arms, and induce a favourable disposition toward their efforts, by European nations, jealous of the overgrowing power of Great-Britain. To prepare the minds of the people for independence, the talents of the literati were exerted in numerous essays. Among the multitude of essays which appeared upon the subject, those from the pen of Thomas Paine, stood pre-eminent: they strengthened the friends of independence; they confirmed the wavering, and caused many of the enemies of the measure to doubt. Americans! cast the mantle of charity over the imperfections of Thomas Paine, and render to his memory, the tribute of your gratitude, for the services which he hath rendered in establishing the independence and happiness of yourselves, as a nation; and which you are bound to transmit as a heritage, to future generations.

The time for independence drew near: while congress was in conclave, debating upon that subject, Mr. Zubly, a member from Georgia, was charged with treason by Mr. Chase, of Maryland, by having disclosed the subject of deliberation to governor Wright of Georgia, in a letter. Zubly denied the charge of treason, and demanded the evidences on which he was accused. While Chase was collecting the proofs, Zubly disappeared. Mr. Houstoun, a member from Georgia, was despatched in pursuit of Zubly, with instructions to place the subject in its proper light, in the event, that any bad effects were likely to result from the disclosure; but before the letter reached Georgia, Wright had fled, and sailed for England. Independence was determined on by congress: and by a solemn declaration of that

august assembly, it was proclaimed on the 4th day of July, 1776: which day will be consecrated by Americans, so long as political virtue, courage, and patriotism, shall be revered. This interesting event was received by his excellency Archibald Bulloch, president of the provincial council at Savannah, on the 10th day of August, by express from the honourable John Hancock, president of congress; by which it appeared that "congress in the name, and by the authority of their constituents, had declared the United States of North-America, were, and of right ought to be, free and independent states, and absolved from all allegiance to the British crown." The provincial council was convened by the president, at the council chamber; where the declaration of independence was proclaimed in due form: from thence the president and council proceeded to the public square, in front of the house appropriated for the deliberations of the provincial assembly; where the declaration was again publicly read, and received the acclamations of a crowded assemblage of the people: they then proceeded to the liberty pole, in the following order of procession:—

The Grenadiers in front.

Provost Marshal.

The Secretary with the Declaration.

His excellency the President.

The honourable Council.

The Light Infantry.

The Militia.

The Citizens.

At the liberty pole, they were saluted by the first continental battalion of Georgia, under the command of colonel M'Intosh, with thirteen guns, accompanied by vollies of small arms; from thence they proceeded to the battery, where they were again saluted by the discharge of thirteen cannon.

A dinner was provided under a grove of cedars, where the

civil and military officers, and a number of citizens from the town and country partook of a handsome dinner, and thirteen toasts were given suitable to the occasion.

In the afternoon there was a funeral procession, attended by the grenadiers, light infantry, and militia companies; and the royal government of Great-Britain was interred with the customary ceremonies. In the evening the town was illuminated and the day was closed with joyful acclamations, for the birth of the independence of the United-States of America.

The following proclamation was issued a few days after the declaration of independence was received in Savannah:—

“GEORGIA.

“By his excellency Archibald Bulloch, Esq. president and commander-in-chief of the said state in council.

“Whereas, it has been resolved by congress, that it be recommended to the representative assemblies and conventions of the United-States, where no government equal to the exigencies of their affairs, has been established, to adopt such government, as shall in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general. And whereas, the honourable the congress of the United-States has received no answer whatever to the humble petitions of these states, for the redress of grievances; and seeing the whole force of Great-Britain, aided by foreign mercenaries, is to be exerted for the destruction of the good people of these states; have judged it necessary to dissolve all connection between Great-Britain and the said United-States, and have accordingly declared them to be *free and independent states*. And whereas, we have received sundry despatches from our delegates at Philadelphia, enclosing blank commissions for letters of marque, with copies of bonds, and other matters of public business: And whereas, the term for which our state legislature were appointed, will expire on the last day of the present month of August, and a new election is

ordered to be held throughout this state, between the first and tenth days of September next, for the purpose of choosing representatives, to meet in convention at Savannah, on the first Tuesday in October. Taking these premises into consideration, I have thought fit, by and with the consent of the council, to order the several parishes and districts within this state, to proceed to the election of delegates, between the first and tenth days of September next, to form and sit in convention; and the delegates so elected, are directed to convene at Savannah, on the first Tuesday in October following, when business of the highest consequence to the government and welfare of the state, will be opened for their consideration."

The president directed that a circular letter should be addressed by the secretary to the inhabitants of the several parishes and districts of this state; congratulating them upon the happy and important prospect of their political affairs, enjoining upon them the necessity of making choice of upright and good men to represent them in the ensuing convention; reminding them of the dissolution of their former connection with Great-Britain, and that America must stand or fall by the virtue of her inhabitants; consequently, the utmost caution must necessarily be used by the people of this state, in choosing men of unsuspected characters, men whose actions had proved their friendship to the cause of freedom, and men whose depth of political judgment qualified them to frame a constitution for the future government of the country. In this weak link of the western empire, he enjoined them to pursue such measures and to adopt such forms of government as to conciliate the affections of the United-States; for under their shadow, they would find safety, and preserve to themselves those invaluable rights which they had so long and ineffectually solicited, and for which they determined now to contend, though they should be purchased with garments rolled in blood.

Another proclamation was issued for the encouragement of the recruiting service, under a resolution of the last assembly,

by which it was provided: "That all persons enlisting in the service of this state, who do faithfully serve in the present contest, until a peace shall be concluded with Great-Britain, or shall serve three years in the present war, shall be entitled to one hundred acres of land; and should any of the aforesaid men be killed in defence of this state, his wife or family shall be entitled to the same."

By a resolution of the preceding legislature, the general court of this state was to be opened and held under certain restrictions at the several and respective times and places that the court of general sessions of the peace and *oyer* and *terminer*, were directed to be opened and held on the second Tuesdays in February, June and October.

When the declaration of independence was received at Savannah, the venerable Jonathan Bryan, whose services for the advantage of Georgia had always been offered whenever they could be beneficial, repaired to Charleston for the purpose of having a conference with general Charles Lee; the object of which was, to project a plan of operations to gain possession of St. Augustine. He represented the numerous depredations, which had been so severely felt on the frontier of Georgia, by the refugee banditti collected in that province from the southern states, and the consequences which were to be apprehended from its being made a strong hold, by reinforcements of British troops. That it was then in a weak and defenceless condition, and with a small force might be reduced. The king's government had acquired strength, and the American government had been enfeebled, by the panic which had been excited from that quarter. The loyalists rejoiced at the depredations which had been committed, and the wavering were disposed to lean toward the strongest party.

General Lee foresaw the great advantages which would result from the reduction of Florida, and ordered the Virginia and North-Carolina troops to march immediately to Georgia, under the command of general Howe; and general Moultrie to follow

with the troops of South-Carolina. General Howe proceeded as far as Sunbury. The sickly season had now commenced and disease prevailed to an alarming degree. The mortality was so great, that from ten to fifteen, became victims to the climate in one day. That general Lee was not well prepared for the contemplated expedition, it is only necessary to mention that he had not a single field piece, nor a medicine chest in the army.

The Carolina troops arrived in Savannah about the last of August. General Lee proposed to general Moultrie, to take command of the expedition, and asked him whether his brother being the lieutenant-governor of East-Florida, would form an objection. He replied that it would not, but that he did not see the probability of procuring provisions, artillery, and other necessaries, to promise success to the object of the campaign; and in his estimate, he required eight hundred men. General Moultrie had exhibited his estimates and the army was preparing to march, when an express arrived from the general government, ordering general Lee to join the grand army to the north. About the 20th of September, Lee left Savannah, and ordered the Virginia and North-Carolina troops to follow him. This put an end to the hopes, which had been contemplated for the reduction of St. Augustine. Its failure gave confidence to the enemy, and induced many to join them, who had previously been inactive. Notwithstanding the influence of Stewart over the Indians, the Creek tribes had never heartily entered into the war; small parties only, had joined the Floridians in their predatory excursions. When the Cherokees were pressed by the armies which marched against them, they solicited the aid and alliance of the Creeks; but a shrewd old chief remarked, "you have taken the thorns out of our feet; you are welcome to them."

In January 1777, colonel Lachlan M'Intosh, ordered the Georgia continental troops to be distributed among the garrisons at Darien, fort Howe, Beards bluff, and fort M'Intosh. A detachment marching to Beards bluff, under the command of

lieutenant Bugg, was surprised by a party of Indians, ambushed in the swamp of Beards creek. Three of Bugg's men were killed, and his party defeated. Captain Chesley Bostwick's company was ordered to that place, and built a small stockade fort.

Lieutenant-colonel Elbert received intelligence that a party was marching from St. Augustine, consisting of regulars, loyalists and Indians. Fort M'Intosh was a small stockade work of one hundred feet square, on rising ground, on the north-east side of Sattilla river, eighty yards from the waters edge, and thirty miles in advance of fort Howe. It had a bastion in each corner, and a block house in the centre, which answered for the combined purposes of a lodgement for the troops, a magazine, and a place of defence. Captain Richard Winn's command consisted of forty men from the third South-Carolina regiment, and twenty continental troops from the Georgia brigade.

On the 17th of February, about the dawn of day, an attempt was made to surprise the garrison, by colonels Brown, Cunningham, and M'Girth, with seventy Florida rangers, and eighty Indians. The assault was continued without intermission for five hours, when a demand was made for a surrender, without any conditions, accompanied by threats of death to the whole garrison, in case of refusal. Captain Winn proposed that hostilities should cease for an hour, and at the expiration of that time, he gave the following answer, "I have considered your proposition, but am bound in honor not to comply. Should we fall into your hands we shall expect to be treated as prisoners of war." This letter was handed to colonel Brown by serjeant Hollis, with a flag. Brown presented a copy of Lord and general Howe's proclamation to the serjeant, with a request that it should be handed to captain Winn. Hostilities recommenced and were continued until late in the afternoon. At this time, Winn had one man killed, and three wounded. The latter suffered greatly, for the want of a surgeon to dress their wounds. Brown withdrew his command a short distance, and

posted strong guards around the fort, to prevent the besieged from making a retreat under cover of the night.

Immediately after dark, captain Winn sent an express, by sergeant Owens, to colonel Francis Harris, at fort Howe, informing him of his critical situation, and requesting immediate reinforcement. Under the assurance that this request would be complied with, he would hold out as long as possible, and at the first signal, he would sally out upon the enemy, when the reinforcement commenced an attack upon the rear. The express arrived at fort Howe about day light the next morning, but the garrison consisted of only forty men fit for duty, consequently, unable to furnish the reinforcement which Winn had required.

Brown waited for the reinforcement which was to join him the next morning, from the south side of the river, under the command of colonel Fuser, consisting of detachments of light infantry from the fourteenth, sixteenth, and sixtieth regiments, consisting of two hundred men. The assault was renewed about nine o'clock in the morning, from the most advantageous positions which could be selected. The Indians made near approaches, and sheltered themselves behind logs and stumps, and very much annoyed the besieged by keeping a close watch upon the loopholes.

The hope was still cherished by the garrison, that, reinforcement was at hand, and the moment was looked for with anxiety, when they were to join their countrymen in the open field against the enemy. About three o'clock, another demand was made for the surrender of the garrison. Winn thought it important to gain time, and wasted away two hours in consultation with his officers. Despairing of the arrival of a reinforcement, and finding upon examination that his ammunition was nearly expended, and that he had not more provision than would last one day, he found his condition too critical to risk a continuance of defence, beyond the time allowed for the arrival of assistance, which he now considered as having elapsed. Under

these unpropitious prospects, he thought it best to accept the most advantageous terms which could be obtained, before he was reduced to the necessity of an unconditional surrender, for want of the means of defence.

Captain Winn proposed a personal conference with colonel Fuser, and it was agreed to meet upon a middle ground between the fort and the enemy. The articles of capitulation were drawn up and agreed to, except one that was offered by captain Winn, which perhaps, under any other circumstances, would not have been considered necessary. It required, "that for the further safety of the prisoners against Indian treachery, a complete company of British regulars, should escort them to the Alatomaha, opposite to fort Howe, and that the British commander should be responsible for the conduct of the Indians and Florida rangers toward the prisoners." Fuser peremptorily rejected this article, and refused to become responsible, except for the conduct of the British regulars. This language suggested more strongly to the mind of Winn, the necessity of this article's being incorporated, and he peremptorily refused to surrender, if it was rejected. He adverted to the fatal consequences which had resulted from the surrender of a fort on the borders of Canada, under similar circumstances, where the prisoners were delivered up to the Indians, and murdered. He also suggested the cruelty which he had good grounds to expect from such characters as Brown, Cunningham, and M'Girth, aided by the savage disposition of Cussuppa, the chief and commander of the Creek Indians. As he was taking his leave, he added, that he did not despair of defending the fort until he was reinforced.

When Winn represented these circumstances to his command, they united in the determination to defend the fort, and die honorably. While the garrison expected a re-commencement of hostilities, Fuser renewed the negotiation to surrender, agreeing to introduce the article which he had previously rejected, upon which the garrison surrendered.

The terms of capitulation, were, that the garrison should not take up arms in the American cause, until regularly exchanged, and that lieutenants John Milton, and William Caldwell, should be surrendered as hostages, for the performance of the stipulations contained in the articles of capitulation. It was also agreed to allow the hostages all the privileges due to their rank as commissioned officers of the continental army. These officers were taken to St. Augustine, where they were confined in the castle for nine months, before they were exchanged.

About sun-set, captain Winn and lieutenant Toles marched out and surrendered the garrison in due form, and after passing through the customary ceremonies, and having their side arms restored, they proceeded about two miles in the direction of fort Howe, under an escort, where they encamped for the night. Early in the evening, the British officers and soldiers who composed the guard, gradually disappeared, and under various pretexts, returned in small parties to the British camp. Before ten o'clock the American prisoners were left without a guard. Remonstrances against this procedure, were treated with contempt and ridiculed by the officers of the guard, alleging that any apprehension of danger, was without foundation. Having a correct idea of the Indian character, Winn suspected that some treachery was about to be practised upon his men, who were left without protection, or the means of defence. He roused up his men, and to avoid falling into the hands of the Indians, took a direction through the woods for fort Howe, and after passing through bays, swamps, and ponds, about thirty-five miles, which had probably never been traversed before by any human being, he reached fort Howe the next day about ten o'clock.

Though a young officer, captain Winn had distinguished himself at Sullivan's island, on the 28th of June 1776, under the command of colonel Moultrie. This circumstance, added to the firm and manly tone, in which he demanded the means of

safety for himself and his command; probably saved him from a similar fate, to those unfortunate American prisoners, who afterward fell into the hands of colonel Brown, after the first attack made by the Americans at Augusta, which will be noticed hereafter. Apprehensive, that preparations were making in Georgia, to meet Fuser with a superior force, he returned to East-Florida.

The objects contemplated by erecting a fort on Sattilla river, so far in advance of the line of defence, on the north-east side of Alatomaha, is not well understood. It is probable that the security of the numerous herds of cattle, which ranged between those two rivers, was the only reason that could be assigned. The situation was well chosen for this purpose, if it had been strongly garrisoned.

During the session of the assembly in Savannah, a resolution was passed to add three battalions of infantry, and a squadron of dragoons, to the Georgia troops on the continental establishment, and form it into a brigade; of which colonel Lachlan M'Intosh was appointed brigadier-general, to take rank from the 16th of September 1776. The supernumerary field officers in the second, third, and fourth battalions, were appointed to fill the vacancies, made by the promotions of M'Intosh and Elbert of the first. It would be as difficult as it would be unnecessary, to notice the promotions which were made during a seven years war.

CHAPTER V.

IN obedience to the proclamation of the president of the provincial council, the members of the convention met in Savannah, to form a constitution for the future government of the state; which was not completed until the 5th of February. The fundamental principles of this constitution, were, the final dissolution of all political connection with the crown of Great-Britain; the recommendation of congress to form a constitution; and the declaration of the independence of the United-States. The legislative, executive, and judiciary departments of the government, to be separate and distinct. The governor to have the chief command over the naval and land forces of the state, and to be aided in the executive functions of the government, by a council consisting of two members from each county, to be chosen from the county representatives by the legislature. The representatives to be chosen annually by the people. The state was divided into eight counties, in each of which a superior court was to be held twice a year, under the control of the chief justice of the state, and three or more justices of the county. The delegates to the congress of the United-States, to be elected by the legislature, annually, and to have a right to sit, debate, and vote in the house of assembly of the state. The assembly to meet annually, on the first Tuesday in January; but the governor, with the advice of the executive council, had the power to call a meeting of the assembly at any other time, if any extraordinary occasion should render it necessary: The principles of the *habeas corpus*, to be a part of the constitution. The freedom of the press, and trial by jury, to remain inviolate forever. The constitution has since, undergone several alterations.

Soon after the adjournment of the convention, the state sustained the loss of one of her most valuable citizens, in the decease of the honourable Archibald Bulloch, president of the provincial council. He had filled the most important offices

that the state could confer upon him; and by his mild, firm, and dignified deportment, commanded the respect and esteem of his fellow-citizens. He was one of the four gentlemen who invited the republicans of Georgia, to rally round the standard of freedom, at the liberty pole in Savannah. The remainder of his useful life, was ardently and zealously devoted to the union of Georgia with the other states in the common cause. He announced the declaration of independence, during his executive administration, and aided in the formation of a constitution for its government.

The following extract from one of his letters, evidences the enthusiasm of his disposition to discountenance the habits of official pomp, which in his opinion did not correspond with the principles of a republican government. The commanding officer of the continental troops in Savannah, deeming it a compliment due to his high station, as president of the state council, had furnished him with a life guard in time of war; and posted a sentinel at his door, and an orderly to attend his person: after requesting that the guard should be withdrawn, he says, "I act for a free people, in whom I have the most entire confidence, and I wish upon all occasions to avoid the appearances of ostentation."

On the 22d of February, Button Gwinnett, was chosen president of the council, and Edward Langworthy, secretary. The situation of public affairs, after the adoption of the constitution, required that no time should be lost in calling a meeting of the legislature. The president issued a proclamation, requiring the election of members in the several counties, and that the assembly should convene on the first Tuesday in May.

It was to be expected that in framing a new system of government, the duties and powers of its component parts, would not be well understood. Jealousies arose between those who were placed at the heads of the different departments; particularly between the civil and military. President Gwinnett and colonel M'Intosh had been candidates for the appointment of

brigadier-general, to command the four continental battalions or regiments, raised and to be raised in Georgia. The friends of these gentlemen had warmly interested themselves for their favourite candidate, and some ill-natured comments had escaped from them, respecting the political and military talents of each other. M'Intosh was finally the successful candidate. Gwinnett had the address to gain over to his interest, a large majority of the executive council; and in order to mortify the military pride of his adversary, endeavoured to impress the public mind with the dangerous consequences of vesting military commanders and courts-martial, with the exercise of any power, which could be withheld from them, and exercised by the civil authority.

This ill-judged system was often complained of by general Washington, who frequently felt the baleful effects of its influence. The exercise of the powers assumed by Gwinnett, over the army, produced the contempt and disrespect of some of the inferior officers toward the general, and destroyed the basis of military discipline. When any of the officers were charged with offences, civil or military, Gwinnett claimed the right of trying the offenders before the executive council. If an officer was ordered on command or detachment, he was selected by, and received his orders from the president and council. Gwinnett projected an expedition against East-Florida, which he contemplated carrying on with the militia and continental troops, and without consulting general M'Intosh upon the subject, or giving him the command of his own brigade. He had a number of printed proclamations prepared, to be issued so soon as he should cross St. Mary's river, and hoist the standard of liberty in that province; and was of opinion that there was nothing necessary for the accomplishment of this object, but the show of an army, with a man of talents at its head, to encourage the people of that province to change its government.

This expedition was to be commanded by Gwinnett in person. The province contained but few actual inhabitants, and

those were generally warm advocates for the government of the crown of Great-Britain. The strength of East-Florida, consisted of loyal refugees from the two Carolinas and Georgia. No reliance was placed upon the produce of the province, for subsistence or forage. Rice was plundered from the planters on the sea-coast; and the forest between Alatomaha and St. Mary's, abounded with horned cattle. From these circumstances, the chimerical plan of Gwinnett was discountenanced by his friends, and relinquished.

A brother of general M'Intosh, who had embarked with great zeal in the American cause, had engaged in a speculation with a British merchant, and despatched some vessels laden with rice and flour to Surinam, for which he had a licence from the committee of safety. The British merchant had procured other clearances from St. Augustine, for the same vessels, to proceed to British ports. If this circumstance was known to Mr. George M'Intosh, Mr. Houstoun, and Mr. Bailie, who were concerned in the speculation, it was a direct violation of the resolution of congress, which prohibited all intercourse with the enemy. In order to mortify general M'Intosh, and destroy his influence and military pride, his brother became an object of Gwinnett's particular resentment and persecution. His utmost exertions were used to make unfavourable impressions on the public mind, against the political principles of the general; asserting that it was dangerous to entrust him with a military commission of such high grade.

Notwithstanding the courage and bravery of which M'Intosh had given ample proofs, in every instance where they had been tested; he appears to have been opposed from principle, to affairs in single combat: but on this occasion he was obliged to yield to his feelings and the public opinion. At the meeting of the general assembly, on the 8th of May, John Adam Truitlen, opposed Gwinnett for the government of Georgia, and the appointment was conferred upon him by a large majority. General M'Intosh remarked in presence of the council, that Gwin-

nett was a scoundrel, and that he was gratified at Truitlen's election. On the 15th, Gwinnett sent M'Intosh a challenge, demanding a meeting the next morning at run-rise, to give him satisfaction. They met accordingly and exchanged a shot at the short distance of twelve feet; both were wounded near the same part in the thigh. M'Intosh recovered, but Gwinnett's wound proved mortal, and he died on the twelfth day after the combat.

Gwinnett appears to have been a man of considerable literary talents, but hasty in his decisions, overbearing in his temper, and wild and excentric in his plans. The outlines of the constitution of Georgia were attributed to his pen, and he was in congress at the time independence was declared, and subscribed to that ever to be remembered instrument of freedom.

Though general M'Intosh appears to have been drawn into this duel, without his own approval of such a resort, yet the friends of Gwinnett were not satisfied with the issue. Mr. Hall and Mr. Wood, who were members of the executive council, brought up the subject before the legislature, and charged the county magistrates, and more particularly judge Glen, with neglect of duty, because M'Intosh had not been bound over to stand his trial for the *murder* of his opponent. Upon hearing the course which was about to be pursued, general M'Intosh surrendered himself to the judge; was bound over for his appearance, tried and acquitted.

Colonel Walton of Georgia, and colonel Laurens of South-Carolina, who were then in congress at Philadelphia, and appear to have been the particular friends of general M'Intosh, were apprehensive that the party divisions in Georgia, might terminate injuriously to the American cause. These gentlemen apprized general M'Intosh of their apprehensions, and requested his permission to apply to general Washington, to give him a command in the northern army, until the existing differences should subside. M'Intosh reluctantly yielded to a removal from his own state, so long as it required the services of

an officer of his own rank; but he submitted to it, under the influence of those political motives which had been offered by his friends.

About this time, the hostile temper of the Indians against the frontiers of New-York, Pennsylvania, and Virginia, required that a brigade should be distributed into small garrisons, to cover that extensive country, and check the incursions of that much dreaded enemy. M'Intosh's experience and knowledge of the Indian character, induced general Washington to select him for this command.

On the 6th of August, the commander in chief ordered general M'Intosh to repair to head quarters, for the purpose of receiving further orders to proceed to Pittsburgh, and take the command of the brigade destined for that service, north-west of the Alleghany mountains. He was directed to select two officers, from his own brigade, to act in the capacities of deputy adjutant general and brigade-major, who were to constitute his suite. Captains Lachlan M'Intosh and John Berrien were appointed to these offices, and the general proceeded to head quarters, and thence to Pittsburgh. He did not return to Georgia until July 1778.

At the commencement of the contest between the colonies and Great-Britain, Mr. George M'Intosh, brother to the general, had taken an active share in it, on the part of his country, and had been appointed a member of the committee of safety, in the parish of St. John, afterward Liberty county. In the month of May 1776, William Panton, a British merchant, brought into Sunbury a quantity of goods, such as planes, osnaburghs, salt, sugar, &c. Panton finding that these articles were in great demand, solicited permission from the committee to dispose of them, and to receive rice in return. The committee consented to his proposal, if he would give bond and security, agreeably to the resolution of congress, that the rice and other produce should not be landed in any port, subject to Great-Britain.

Mr. George M'Intosh, Sir Patrick Houstoun, and George Bailie, also applied to the committee, and obtained permission to ship rice to Surinam, giving bond and security, that it should not be landed in a British port. They had purchased from Pantou, goods to a considerable amount, and gave bills of exchange, signed by Patrick Houstoun and George Bailie, on their consignee, at Surinam, for payment. The vessels were regularly cleared out at Sunbury, but papers changing the character and destination of these vessels, had been previously furnished by governor Tonyn of East-Florida, and all the cargoes were carried into British ports. Every effort made, both by the friends and enemies of M'Intosh, to obtain evidence from Tonyn upon this subject, failed. Whether his motives were to excite suspicion, and cherish party divisions in Georgia; or whether he was unwilling to commit himself, by a contradiction of the assertions he had made in a letter, to Lord George Germain, founded upon the loose observations which Pantou said had fallen from him in the presence of the governor; has never been made known to the public, nor would he assign any reason for withholding it. Charges were afterward exhibited against George M'Intosh, founded on the letter above-mentioned, which was intercepted at sea, and transmitted to the president and council of Georgia. The following is an extract. "I had also the honour to write to your Lordship, that I expected from sundry places, supplies of provisions, but have not so effectually succeeded in any of them, as I have in those taken up by Mr. Pantou. He has now brought four hundred barrels of rice into St. John's river: one thousand more are shipped, and expected to arrive every hour. Mr. Pantou executed this business with great hazard to his life and fortune. He has been greatly assisted by Mr. George M'Intosh, who is compelled to a tacit acquiescence with the distempered times, and is one of the rebel congress from Georgia, intentionally to mollify and temporize, and to be of all the use in his power. I am informed that his principles are a loyal attachment to the

king and constitution. He would, my Lord, be in a dangerous situation, was this known." There does not appear to have been any grounds for the assertion made by Tonym, respecting the great hazard to which Panton had exposed his life, nor had Mr. M'Intosh ever been a member of congress. The masters of the brig, the schooner, and the sloop, which had been freighted, appeared before the council and deposed, that these vessels were laden with rice and flour, by Sir Patrick Houstoun, George M'Intosh, and Robert Bailie, and that they sailed under a clearance for Surinam; but that they were afterward boarded in the mouth of Sapelo river, near the bar, by William Panton, who observed that the cargoes belonged to him, and that they must change their destination for British ports. Accordingly the brig was ordered to proceed to the West Indies, the schooner to St. Augustine, and the sloop to St. John's river. The witnesses disavowed having any instructions or authority to this effect by the shippers, but that they were informed, that Panton had bills of exchange for the proceeds of these cargoes, upon the consignee at Surinam; and that in consequence of such information, and Panton's exhibiting the bills signed by Houstoun and Bailie, they had consented to obey his instructions.

On the 8th of January, George M'Intosh was seized by order of the president and council, and lodged in prison, where he remained several months, before he was admitted to bail. The powers of the judiciary, to interfere by *habeas corpus*, were questioned by the executive, alleging that this was an offence against the United-States, over which the judge of an individual state had no jurisdiction. It was contended on the other side, that if the power was not vested in the judiciary of an individual state, neither was it vested in the executive of an individual state; therefore the case could only be decided by congress.

It appeared from the depositions of John Perroneau, and George Bellenger, that they had conversed with William Panton in Augustine, upon the subject of M'Intosh's prosecution. Panton observed, "That he lamented the unfortunate situation

of M'Intosh, because he believed him to be entirely innocent of the charges alleged against him: that he had merely represented Mr. M'Intosh to governor Tonym, as a man of honour and principle, and that he believed him to be sincerely attached to the rights and liberties of America." These depositions and many others were taken before judge Glen, on the part of M'Intosh, to invalidate the extract of Tonym's letter to Lord George Germain. Bailie and Houstoun, were both placed upon the bill of confiscation and banishment: M'Intosh was not. M'Intosh was rigorously prosecuted; while no notice whatever was taken of Houstoun or Bailie. The warm interest which appears to have been taken by Jonathan Bryan, John Wereat, and Henry Laurens, in their letters to several members of congress, appears to place the innocence of M'Intosh, beyond a doubt. These gentlemen represent the prosecution of M'Intosh, as the growth of party dispute, in which George M'Intosh is made the victim of gratification, to the vengeance of the general's enemies. In addition to his personal sufferings, his property was carried off before he was brought to trial, and squandered in such way, that his heirs have never been able to collect it. When he was admitted to bail, he took his departure for the headquarters of the United-States, with the intention of laying his case before congress: he was pursued and overtaken in North-Carolina, by a military party, commanded by captain Nash, who was directed to take him a prisoner and carry him to congress. Nash was taken sick on the way, and died soon after. M'Intosh arrived at the seat of government on the 9th of October, where he presented his memorial and the depositions for and against himself; and prayed congress to examine and decide upon his case. Congress accordingly took up the matter, upon which order was taken as follows:—

"In Congress, October 9th, 1777. Upon considering the papers received from the president of the state of Georgia, respecting George M'Intosh, taken into custody, in consequence of information transmitted, and a request made by congress to the

government of the said state, and the memorial of the said George M'Intosh, praying congress to take his case into consideration. *Resolved*, that a committee of three be appointed to examine into the said papers and memorial, and report their opinion, whether there is sufficient cause before congress for the detention of the said George M'Intosh, in order that if such cause appears, he may be sent a prisoner to the state of Georgia, of which he is a citizen, for trial; or otherwise may be discharged." The members chosen to constitute this committee, were Messrs. J. Adams, Duane, and Williams.

"In Congress, October 10th, 1777. The committee to whom were referred the papers, received from the president of the state of Georgia, respecting George M'Intosh, taken into custody, in consequence of information transmitted, and a request made by congress to the government of the state of Georgia, and the memorial of the said George M'Intosh, praying congress to take his case into consideration; *report*, that they have examined into the said papers and memorial, and are of opinion, that there is not sufficient cause before congress for the detention of the said George M'Intosh: *Whereupon resolved*, That the said George M'Intosh be discharged." If Mr. M'Intosh was friendly to the royal cause, he did not give those evidences of it afterward, which were given by many of his prosecutors; by surrendering voluntarily, and taking protection under the British government.

During the revolutionary war, general Washington was frequently embarrassed in his military operations, by the interference of the civil departments of the states, as well as of the general government. Under the administration of president Gwinnett, in Georgia, similar causes produced the same effects. His first plan for the reduction of East-Florida, having failed; he contemplated a second, under the command of colonel Elbert, with the continental troops, and colonel Baker, with the militia. The plan of operation, appears to have been concerted by presi-

dent Gwinnett and his council, under the denomination of a council of war. Colonel Baker was ordered to proceed by land with the militia; and colonel Elbert, with the continental troops by water, in small vessels and boats, by the inland passage. Four hundred continental troops embarked in three gallies, and several small boats, constituted Elbert's command. Sawpit bluff, twelve miles from the mouth of St. John's river, was agreed upon as the place of rendezvous, on the 12th of May. In conformity with these arrangements, colonel Elbert embarked, after the necessary preparations were made, allowing himself sufficient time to reach the place of rendezvous, at the time appointed.

Colonel Baker appears to have embarked with sanguine expectation of the success of this expedition, but the exercise of his best efforts, brought to his standard only one hundred and nine volunteers, including officers; which was far short of the requisite number to accomplish the plans which had been projected. With this force he marched to fort Howe, where he was again disappointed in his expectations of being joined by colonel Sumpter with the South-Carolina troops. Sumpter had received orders from general Howe, to march the next morning to Savannah, and thence to Carolina. The Alatamaha river was so high as not only to fill its banks, but to cover the low grounds from one hill to the other. With great difficulty, Baker's command effected a passage over it in two days. On the morning of the 4th of May, he was attacked by a party of Indians, who rushed into his camp at the dawn of day: lieutenants Robeson, and Frazer were wounded, and one Indian killed. The skirmish lasted but a few minutes, when the Indians fled. Baker pursued them with forty men, to Finholloway creek, about twelve miles from his camp, but not being able to come up with them, he returned. The next morning he marched for his destination, where he arrived on the 12th, without the occurrence of any difficulties, except from the delay, necessarily occasioned in crossing Sattilla and St. Mary's rivers, which

he effected on rafts, and by swimming his horses. Finding that colonel Elbert had not yet arrived, major William Baker was detached with forty men to reconnoitre the country as far as Cowford, on St. John's river. In reconnoitring he fell in with one Barefield, an inhabitant of the province, who informed him that he had been surrounded by fifteen Indians, and taken prisoner, the preceding morning; but when they were informed that he was a Floridian, they permitted him to proceed upon his business. He also observed to Baker that he had seen two spies on their way to St. Augustine, by whom he was informed that there was a large body of American troops on their march toward that province, and that St. Augustine was supposed to be their destination.

On the night of the 15th, some Indians were discovered near the camp, and fired on by a sentinel, and the next morning about forty horses were missing. Colonel Baker pursued on the track about four miles, and discovered the horses, hobbled, along the margin of a thick swamp, which gave strong indications of an ambuscade being formed by the enemy. To avoid falling into it, and bring off the horses, required courage and caution; as the number of the enemy was not known to him. A few men were ordered to dismount and pass round as secretly as possible, and cut the horses loose; while the remainder presented themselves on open ground at a distance, to divert the attention of the Indians; and so soon as the horses were cut loose from their fastenings, another party of the horsemen were to charge in between the horses and the swamp, and drive them off. This was effected with the loss of two men wounded, and four or five horses killed. The Indians pursued them about a mile, and though there were but fifteen of them, Baker could not prevail upon his men to give them battle. He retreated to his camp, paraded all his force and returned; but the Indians had fled and set fire to the woods to prevent a pursuit upon their trail, leaving one Indian on the ground, who had been killed.

Four days elapsed after the time appointed to form a junc-

tion with colonel Elbert, and no intelligence had been received from him. Baker knew that the enemy at St. Augustine were apprized of his situation and knew his force, which excited alarm for the safety of his command; but until he heard from Elbert, he was unwilling to abandon the expedition. On the morning of the 17th he determined to change his encampment, and take a position more favourable, in the event of his being overpowered and compelled to retreat. He had marched but a short distance, when some mounted militia and Indians, under the command of colonel M'Girth, appeared in his front and fired a gun, which he supposed to be a signal for the main body of the enemy in the rear. Colonel Baker ordered his men to dismount and prepare for action. Twenty or thirty fled into a swamp, without firing a gun. The remainder dismounted and a brisk skirmish ensued for about five minutes, when the Americans began to retreat. The main body of the enemy, commanded by colonel Brown, had been formed into three divisions of one hundred in each; the reserve commanded by captain Wolf, covered the retreat of those engaged, while the right and left attempted to turn Baker's flanks unperceived and surround him. In this manoeuvre, the enemy so well succeeded, that Baker was obliged to retreat into the swamp through a galling fire. Baker narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the enemy, in consequence of one of his men having mounted his horse and rode him off.

The American loss in this defeat was eight killed, of whom five were murdered by the Indians after they were taken prisoners, nine wounded, and thirty-one including part of the wounded, were taken prisoners. Among the killed, were lieutenants Frazer and M'Gowen, lieutenant Robeson, wounded, and captains Few and Williams, prisoners. Thomas Coleman was drowned crossing Sattilla river. Colonel Baker and the remains of his command, fled in small parties and in great confusion from the scene of action, which was near Nassau river. Some of them joined colonel Elbert, and the remainder reached the settlements in Georgia, in small parties.

Head winds, boisterous weather, and the want of pilots who were acquainted with the southern inland navigation; rendered colonel Elbert's share in the expedition, as useless as colonel Baker's, though not so fatal. He did not reach St. Mary's until six days after the time the junction was to have been formed with Baker at Sawpit bluff. In attempting to pass through Amelia river, one of the gallies grounded, and two days were exhausted in vain efforts to pass through the narrows.

Lieutenant Robert Ward, of the second regiment, was ordered by Elbert to land with a party of men and march to the southern extremity of the island; and on his way, to secure all the inhabitants, to prevent the enemy from gaining intelligence of Elbert's approach. A detachment of the enemy had been landed on the south end of the island, to watch the motions of Elbert; and the landing of Ward's party was communicated to the enemy by a spy. A small boat was immediately despatched to give the alarm to an armed vessel, at anchor to the southward of the island. Alarm guns were fired, and answered at the entrance of St. John's river.

About eleven o'clock on the morning of the 20th of May, Ward's party was attacked by an equal number of the enemy, who had marched up the island to meet him. The contest was pretty equal for ten minutes. The enemy retreated toward a low ground, covered with thick low woods, favourable to cover a retreat. Ward advanced in front of his men, with a precipitancy, bordering on imprudence and received a mortal wound, of which he died an hour after, and two of his men were wounded. The loss sustained by the enemy, if any, was not known. The pursuit was not carried beyond the margin of the thicket, where lieutenant Ward fell.

On the 19th, thirteen of colonel Baker's men joined colonel Elbert, and gave him an account of the disaster at Nassau river: but as they were among the first who fled, could give no detail of the particulars. On the 21st, three others joined and informed him, that the number opposed to Baker, was about three

hundred and fifty, composed of British regulars, Florida rangers, Indians, and a few Florida militia. These three men, with five others, were taken prisoners by M'Girth, and put under the care of an Indian guard. The Indians fell upon them unexpectedly, killed the other five with knives and hatchets, and in the confusion, with great difficulty, they effected their escape. They conjectured that about one half of Baker's men were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, and supposed that their commander was among that number.

The enemy acknowledged that Baker, and about fifty of his men, acted with great courage and resolution, and that if the remainder had followed the example, a retreat might have been effected with an inconsiderable loss. The enemy had been apprized that Baker was on his march, and that Elbert was approaching by water. Correct information had also been received of the number which constituted the two American detachments. The commanding-officer at St. Augustine ordered a detachment of artillery to defend a battery which had been erected at Hester's bluff. A schooner mounting ten guns, and an armed sloop were ordered to defend the inland passage, between Amelia island and the main land, against small boats; well knowing that the depth of water would not admit the American gallies to pass through.

Elbert's party of observation from the south end of the island, informed him that two vessels, one of fourteen and the other of sixteen guns, were standing off and on over the bar, evidently with the intention to intercept the gallies, if any attempt was made to pass them round on the outside of the island. Elbert had laid up an ample stock of flour, but his other provisions, calculating on supplies in Florida, were nearly exhausted. The tedious time which had been spent in contending against head winds and shoal water; constantly exposed to the heat of the sun, and crowded in small vessels; created despondency and disease. These circumstances, combined with the defeat of colonel Baker, caused him to relinquish all prospects of

success, and compelled him to abandon the expedition. He accordingly reported his condition and determination to general M'Intosh, and to president Gwinnett, by express. He retreated to Frederica, and from thence was ordered to Sunbury. Such was the issue of president Gwinnett's wild expedition, from which he vainly calculated on annexing another province to the United States.

The command of the southern army had been confided to general Robert Howe, about the close of the year 1776, who had fixed his head quarters in Charleston. When it was known to Howe, that colonel Fuser had reduced fort M'Intosh, it was also conjectured that he would invade Georgia with such a formidable force, as the troops in that state would not be competent to resist. The commanding-general ordered lieutenant-colonel Marion, of South-Carolina, to embark six hundred men in boats and small vessels, with four field pieces, a quantity of ammunition, camp equipage, intrenching tools, and provisions, to proceed immediately, by the inland passage to Savannah. Colonel Thompson's regiment marched to Purysburgh on Savannah river. Before these troops arrived, which was about the 15th of March, Fuser had retreated to Florida.

The term for which the North-Carolina militia were called into service, had expired, and they insisted upon being discharged. This reduction of Howe's force, compelled him to withdraw all the Carolina troops from Georgia, to defend the sea-coast of their own state. The continental troops in Georgia, consisted of M'Intosh's brigade, which had never been completed, and numbers of the recruits, unaccustomed to a southern climate, were carried off by disease.

The paper medium which had been necessarily put into circulation, to meet the expenses of the war, passed for a short time, at par, with the precious metals. The exertions of congress, were supported by the different state legislatures, in the infliction of penalties upon such individuals as refused to receive it at par with gold and silver, in exchange for any com-

modities they might offer for sale. Those who attempted to lessen its value, were deemed enemies to the cause of freedom, and treated accordingly. Patriotism had its influence for a time, but the thinking money maker, looked forward for the sources of its eventual redemption. The depreciation had thrown such a flood of it into circulation, that the hopes of reducing it by taxation were visionary. The sole purposes for which the war had been commenced, were at variance with every system which could be devised by congress, to re-conduct it to the public treasury, reduce the quantity, and support its credit. The revenue produced nothing, and the amount of taxes which could be imposed with safety, upon people who were fighting against the system of heavy taxation, was found to be, but a drop in the bucket. The militia had already felt all the miseries of a camp life, which could be produced, by their disorderly conduct and ungovernable dispositions. The exaggerated form, in which their sufferings were represented to their neighbours when they returned home, produced the greatest reluctance to taking the field, when their services were required. Large sums were offered by individuals for substitutes in addition to the pay allowed by government.

The Georgia continental officers, who had been ordered on the recruiting service, made but little progress in filling their companies. The bounty and pay which were allowed by the general government, for a whole year, were not equal to the sums which were offered by the militia for substitutes to serve for only three months. Those who were disposed to enter the service, preferred a short militia campaign, where they could do as they pleased; to entering the regular service for three years, where they would be compelled to live under those strict rules of discipline, necessary to the government of a camp, and to qualify them for the field of battle.

At an early period of the war, general Washington had discovered the evils arising from short enlistments and a dependance on militia. As it progressed, he urged with arguments, which

appeared to have been almost irresistible, for the raising of regiments for the war; but his experience and sound reasoning, do not appear to have produced that conviction in the minds of the members of congress, which was proved by succeeding events. The time to apply those remedies, had in a great measure been suffered to pass, until the disease became almost incurable. The continual exertions of the commander-in-chief, were at length yielded to, and the regiments were ordered to be completed with men enlisted for three years, or during the war. The greatest exertions on the part of the officers in Georgia, as well as in the other states, produced but few recruits.

The exposed situation of the southern frontier made it necessary for the commanding officer to order the recruits to the posts on the Alatomaha in small detachments, as they were enlisted. About twenty of these recruits, under the command of lieutenants Brown and Anderson, were ordered to fort Howe. Within two miles of their destination, they were way-laid by about one hundred and fifty loyalists and Indians, passing through a thick bay swamp. The surprise was complete; fourteen men were killed, and the officers who were mounted, and the other six narrowly escaped.

This disastrous event was communicated to colonel Scriven the next morning, who with the southern militia, and lieutenant-colonel John M'Intosh with the regulars from Darien, repaired to the scene of action, and buried the dead; who had been scalped, and their bodies so much mangled, that only a few of them were known. These allies of his Britannic majesty, were not satisfied with taking away the life: the bodies of the dead were ripped open with knives, and the intestines strewed about on the ground. The enemy had retreated across the river, at Reid's bluff, and taken the direction to St. Augustine. The proportion of loyalists, who accompanied the Indians on this incursion, could not be ascertained with any degree of accuracy, by those who escaped. The English language was heard distinctly pronounced, and many were seen in the

usual dress of white men. The whole frontier continued to be harassed by small parties of loyalists and Indians, and the state was too weak to act otherwise, than on the defensive.

On the night of the 31st of July, a party of Indians crossed Ogechee river, near Morgan's fort, knocked in the door, and rushed into the house of Samuel Delk, who was not at home. His wife and four of his children were killed and scalped, and his eldest daughter, about fourteen years of age, was carried off in captivity. The fate of this hapless innocent girl, was never ascertained. The Indians were pursued by a detachment under the command of lieutenants Little, and Alexander, about forty miles, where the Indians had parted in order to hunt. The only discovery which was made, relative to the unfortunate fate of the female prisoner, was some hair that was found near the Oconee river, which appeared to have been cut off her head: this induced her father to hope, that she had shared the fate of the rest of his family. I say *hope*, because it is well known for what purpose a female's life is spared, and she carried into captivity, by a savage foe. Many damning proofs of this fact, could be recorded in this volume. Such was the warfare, and such were the allies of Great-Britain, against the United States.

On the 10th of August, a British armed vessel anchored in St. Andrew's sound, between Cumberland and Jekyl Islands. Some boats were manned from the crew and proceeded to St. Simon's Island. Captain Arthur Carney, and five others were taken prisoners: several negroes and as much household furniture as the boats could contain, were carried off and the vessel proceeded to St. Augustine. Carney joined the enemy, and became an active partizan in the royal cause. His name was stricken from the rolls of the American army as a traitor and deserter; his property confiscated and his person banished forever.

Men who have rendered themselves conspicuous by acts of treason, have a just claim to particular notice in the history of their country. Captain Arthur Carney who had been ap-

pointed to the command of the fourth company of infantry in the first continental battalion in Georgia, ignominiously abandoned the cause of his country and joined the enemy in St. Augustine; his mind does not appear to have been sufficiently stored with information, to qualify him for the practice of great villanies; but to acts of a petty kind, his exertions compensated for the deficiency of his talents: his residence was favourable to his purposes, and under cover of his commission, they were practised for a considerable time without suspicion. He resided between the Alatomaha and St. Mary's rivers, where himself and many others owned large herds of cattle. After his own stock had been exhausted, in secret sales to the enemy, he aided them in the collection of others which belonged to the Americans. Suspicion at length alarmed him and he threw himself in the way of the enemy, under pretence of being carried off a prisoner; and afterward himself and his son, took an active share in the royal cause.

Many of the inhabitants of Georgia and South-Carolina, encouraged by the rapid increase of horned cattle, without the trouble of furnishing winter food, or any other expense, except for the employment of a few herdsmen; had purchased large droves, and placed them between the Alatomaha and St. Mary's rivers, where the country furnished a plentiful supply of pasturage, during the whole year. Colonel Daniel M'Girth and many of his associates, were well acquainted with the country and made frequent incursions to drive off cattle for the supplies of the enemy at St. Augustine. It is said that the number driven off for this purpose, is moderately estimated at ten thousand.

CHAPTER VI.

AT the meeting of the assembly in Savannah, on the 8th of May, Noble W. Jones, was appointed speaker of the house of representatives; John Adam Truitlen, governor; Jonathan Bryan, John Houstoun, Thomas Chisolm, William Holzendorf, John Fulton, John Jones, John Walton, William Few, Arthur Fort, John Coleman, Benjamin Andrews, and William Peacock, Esquires, members of the executive council; and Samuel Stirk, secretary. On the 3d of June, the assembly passed a resolution to raise two battalions, under the denomination of minute men, for the permanent defence of the frontier, to be enlisted for two years. Large bounties and premiums were offered to the officers and men. The platoon officers were not to be commissioned until they had completed their quotas of men, none of whom were to be enlisted in the state. To encourage exertions in the recruiting service, the rank of the platoon officers, was to be governed by the number of men, each officer recruited. The greatest exertions were excited, by this extraordinary rule for promotion, though its defects, in many instances, were destructive to military discipline. There are many men who are well calculated for recruiting sergeants, who would not be at all qualified to command a company.

The scarcity of provisions in the country, particularly of the bread kind, which had been occasioned by the constant employment of the militia, became alarming. To remedy the evil as much as possible, the governor prohibited by proclamation, the exportation of rice, corn, flour, and all other kinds of provisions, which might be required for the subsistence of the inhabitants, or of the army. Another proclamation was issued, inflicting fines and penalties upon those who should be found guilty of undervaluing the state bills of credit; but as there was no fund for the ultimate redemption of the paper money, its value lessened every day. An act of assembly was passed to enforce the

authority of such provincial statutes of the British code, as were not at variance with the new constitution, or repealed by a state law. A land office was opened to encourage an increase of settlers from the other states, with offers of land upon advantageous terms.

Previous to the raising of the minute battalions, the protection of the western division of the state, had been confided to colonel Marbury's regiment of dragoons. When he was relieved from this service, his regiment was distributed into ranging parties, south of Alatomaha river, to act against the incursions of M'Girth: but the extensive country he had to defend, intersperced with a vast number of swamps, thickly covered with shrubbery, enabled his cunning and expert adversary, to accomplish his purposes, either by stratagem or force.

Late in the year 1777, the command in the southern states, was confided to major-general Robert Howe, who removed his head-quarters from Charleston to Savannah, early in the succeeding year. On the 8th of January, the assembly met in Savannah, and John Houstoun, was appointed to succeed Truitlen, in the government of Georgia. The project of reducing East-Florida was still cherished; and in order to make the necessary arrangements for its accomplishment, the governor suggested to general Howe, the probable force he would be able to bring into the field, and the gratification he should feel in co-operating with him on an expedition, which had so long engaged the attention of Georgia. Howe agreed to exercise his reflections upon the proposition, and finally agreed to its adoption.

About this time, a party of loyalists, principally inhabitants of the interior of South-Carolina, embodied near Ninety-six, and crossed Savannah river, forty miles below Augusta; where they were joined by a party of the same description from Georgia, commanded by colonel Thomas. They took possession of some boats, on the way from Augusta to Savannah with corn and flour; and after supplying themselves with as much as they wanted, the remainder was destroyed and the boats

sunk. This body consisting of four hundred men, supplied their wants on their route to East-Florida, and added to the distress of the inhabitants, by the destruction of such provisions as they did not use.

This augmentation to the enemy's force on the south heightened the zeal of its advocates; and gave a spur to the action of the expedition. In the mean time, the movements of the enemy at Pensacola, as well as the preparations at St. John's and St. Mary's rivers, gave strong indications of a formidable attack upon Georgia. The probability was strengthened by reports, which were entitled to some credit, that a re-inforcement of British troops was expected at St. Augustine.

To counteract the operations of the enemy, general Howe determined to embody his disposable forces, and act offensively or defensively, as the condition of his army might justify. The weak state of Georgia, rendered it incapable of self defence; consequently general Howe could calculate on very little aid from its militia. It was assailable on every side; no where prepared for defence; many of the people disaffected to the American cause; the militia but few in number, almost without arms or ammunition; and the Creek Indians, with their much dreaded implements of war, ready to join their British allies. Property was but of secondary consideration, when the aged, the helpless, and the infant, were so ill fated as to fall into such hands.

General Howe's regulars, who were in condition to take the field, did not exceed five hundred and fifty, and the militia, who were called from the western division of Georgia, left that quarter almost defenceless. Howe ordered a re-inforcement of two hundred and fifty continental infantry and thirty artilleryists, with two field pieces, under the command of colonel C. C. Pinckney, to join him from Charleston; and called on the governor of Georgia for three hundred and fifty militia. He also ordered colonel Bull's and colonel Williamson's regiments of Carolina militia, to rendezvous at Purysburgh, fifteen miles above Savannah.

James Mercer from St. Augustine, arrived at Savannah on the 21st of April, and was examined on oath before William Stephens, attorney-general. He stated that he sailed from St. Augustine on the 17th, under pretence of coming to St. John's; that a number of troops under the command of general Provost, had marched, and were destined for Alatomaha; three hundred loyalists had arrived at St. Mary's from the interior of Carolina and Georgia, and had placed themselves under the command of colonel Brown; and that seven hundred more were on their march, and soon expected; that an express had brought intelligence from the Creek nation, that a body of Indians were on their march to join general Provost, on the Alatomaha; and that the object of this combined force, was to attack Georgia.

At this time colonel Elbert was posted at fort Howe. He had been informed that the brigantine Hinchbrook, the sloop Rebecca, and a prize brig were lying at Frederica. He marched with three hundred men to Darien, where they were embarked on board of three gallies:—the Washington, captain Hardy; the Lee, captain Braddock; and the Bulloch, captain Hatcher; and a detachment of artillery, under captain Young, on board of a flat. With this force he effected a landing at Pike's bluff, about a mile and an half from Frederica; leaving colonel John White on board of the Lee; captain George Melvin on board of the Washington; and lieutenant Pettey on board of the Bulloch; each with a detachment of troops, equal to offensive or defensive operations. Immediately after landing, Elbert detached major Roberts and lieutenant Rae with one hundred men, who marched up to the town and took three marines and three sailors of the Hinchbrook's crew: as it was then late in the night, the gallies did not engage until the next morning, for which purpose they drew up in order. The unexpected attack damped the spirits of the enemy, and they took to their boats and escaped down the river. Captain Ellis of the Hinchbrook was drowned, and nine of his crew taken prisoners. Colonel White and captain Melvin took the prize brig without op-

position: the crew followed the example of their companions, took to their boats and escaped.

The success attending this enterprise, encouraged colonel Elbert in making an attempt against the *Galatea*, anchored at the north end of Jekyl Island, for which purpose he manned the *Hinchenbrook* and the sloop from the gallies; but while he was making his preparations, the *Galatea* hoisted sail and put to sea. When the success of this enterprise was made known in Georgia, it had a good effect upon the dispirited militia, and general Howe considered it a favourable moment to carry on the expedition against Florida.

On board of the *Hinchenbrook*, three hundred suits of uniform clothing were found, belonging to colonel Pinckney's regiment, taken in the *Hatter*, which had been freighted with clothing for the continental troops in the southern department, and had been captured by a British privateer off Charleston. The prisoners informed colonel Elbert, that general Provost was on his march to attack Georgia, that the vessels taken by him were destined to Sunbury, where they were to join general Provost, who calculated that the weak state of the garrison at that place, would enable him to gain possession of it with little or no opposition. The clothing found on board of the *Hinchenbrook* was to be distributed among the loyalists, who were marching from Augustine, and other insurgents who were expected to join them after their arrival. Brown's regiment of rangers was to be completed and put in uniform. Preceding events compared with this narrative, gave it a claim to credit; though it appeared a little extraordinary that a commanding-officer should make such a public disclosure of his intentions, unnecessarily, to his own disadvantage.

General Howe gave orders to colonel Pinckney, to join him with all expedition, and marched with all his force to fort Howe. Before he reached his destination, colonel M'Girth with a party of refugees had penetrated the Midway settlement, where he was opposed by superior force and compelled to re-

treat to St. Mary's. When general Provost was informed of general Howe's movements, his attention was directed to the repairs of his points of defence on St. Mary's and St. John's rivers, and in making such other arrangements as were best calculated for the defence of the province. Fort Tonyn was put in the best state that its situation would admit, and cannon mounted for its defence. This fort was on the St. Mary's river, and some distance in advance of his other works. The ground was not well calculated for defence; nor could the garrison be withdrawn, in the event of a siege.

General Howe arrived at the Alatomaha on the 20th of May, where he waited for his re-inforcements. He drew a favourable conclusion from the division of the enemy's force, in fortifying the out posts imagining that they would fall by detail, and that thereby his conquest would be easy and certain. The British works on St. John's river were formidable. A battery was erected on each side, mounted with cannon, covering some armed vessels in the harbour.

The favourable prospect held out by general Howe, for reducing this asylum for robbery; under the control of the American government; was soon spread over Georgia and Carolina, and Howe could not have conceived a project which would have been more popular, among all ranks of the community who were attached to the cause of freedom, than the one which he now contemplated. Every plan which had been adopted by the American government to keep the Creek Indians quiet, and prevent them from taking an active share in the war, had failed. The claims which had been always successful, in the form of presents, to the warriors and chiefs, were irresistible, when accompanied by assurances that regular supplies should be furnished for the use of the nation at large. To comply with these promises, was completely in the power of Great-Britain, through the medium of her merchants in East and West-Florida.

The American government could offer no inducements, by which Indian friendship is usually acquired. Presents of such

kind as would be acceptable, could not be procured. Ammunition was too important to their own defence, and its scarcity was so severely felt, that her troops often fled from the field of battle for want of it. There is no difficulty in deciding upon the part which would be taken by the Indians, where such powerful allurements were held out upon one side, and nothing but the justice of a national cause, held out upon the other. Add to this, an open door to the pillage of a country, which afforded neither the means of offensive nor defensive operations.

General Howe's army was badly supplied with munitions of war; which ultimately tended to the destruction of his plans. On the 25th of May, he crossed the Alatomaha river and encamped at Reid's bluff. The distressing effects, which must always arise from placing an army under more than one head, already began to appear. The governor of Georgia had taken the field at the head of her militia, and in opposition to the wishes of general Howe, had ordered the gallies to proceed up the river to Beard's bluff, fifty miles above the influence of the tide. The shallows in the river, and the force of the current, rendered obedience to this order impracticable. On this occasion Howe made some ill natured comments, reflecting on the governor's generalship, at which the latter took offence. To this misunderstanding and the want of munitions of war; was attributed, the final failure of the expedition. Though governor Houstoun was a man of great political talents, his military skill had never been tested by experiment; and when the militia of his own state were called into service, the constitution gave him a right to the supreme command. General Howe was aware of this, and did not assume the power of hastening his movements, but in his private letters, complained that they were very tardy.

On the 5th of June, the continental troops, under the command of colonel Elbert, marched for Sattilla river, with orders to take possession of the ferry, collect such boats as he could find, and throw up some works on each side to facilitate the

advance, or cover the retreat of the army, as circumstances might require. Howe complained that the tardy movements of the militia under governor Houstoun and colonel Williamson, had given time to the enemy to put Florida in such a state of defence, as to counteract his plans. He had agreed to form a junction with commodore Bowen, at St. Mary's, on the 12th of June; therefore he was obliged to march from Reid's bluff before the militia arrived. He proceeded without interruption, except from small parties of the enemy, to St. Mary's river, where he found fort Tonym had been evacuated and demolished. A detachment of the enemy had halted at Alligator creek, fourteen miles south of fort Tonym, but prepared to retreat with security, should they be pressed by the Americans. Information was received, that twelve hundred men had marched from St. Augustine toward St. John's, and that two gallies, laden with twenty-four pounders and other heavy cannon, were sent round to the entrance of St. John's river, to dispute the passage of the Americans, or to aid in a general engagement, if prudence would justify the risk.

An intelligent deserter from the enemy, gave the following account of the British force in East-Florida. Eight hundred regular troops, one hundred Florida rangers, one hundred and fifty provincial militia, three hundred and fifty loyalists, from the Carolinas and Georgia, and two hundred Indians; making a total of fifteen hundred and fifty. In this stage of the campaign, a letter from general Howe, dated July 5th, at the ruins of fort Tonym, will give the best impressions of his feelings.

"I have been waiting for the gallies first, and after their arrival, a tedious time for the militia of this state, and for the long expected coming of colonel Williamson and our countrymen with him. In short, if I am ever again to depend upon operations I have no right to guide, and men I have no right to command; I shall deem it then, as I now do, one of the most unfortunate incidents of my life. Had we been able to move at once, and those I expected would have been foremost, had only

been as ready as we were, a blow might have been given to our enemies, which would have put it out of their power to have disturbed us, at least not hastily; and perhaps have been attended with consequences more important than the most sanguine could have expected; but delayed beyond all possible supposition, embarrassed, disappointed, perplexed, and distressed beyond expression; the utmost we could now achieve, will be a poor compensation for the trouble and fatigue we have undergone, excepting we may be allowed to suppose (what I truly think has been effected) that the movements we have made, have drove back the enemy and prevented an impending invasion of the state of Georgia, which would otherwise inevitably have overwhelmed it, and also a dangerous defection of both states. This good I am persuaded has resulted from it, and this is our consolation. The enemy were two or three days since at Alligator creek, fourteen miles from this place; their forces by all accounts, are at least equal to either the governor's troops or mine, and we are on contrary sides of the river, and not within eight miles of each other. Ask me not how this happened, but rest assured that it has not been my fault. I believe however, that the governor will encamp near me to-night, and if the enemy are still where they were, which I hope to know to-night or to-morrow morning, we shall probably beat up their quarters."

It is to be inferred from the foregoing letter, and other circumstances connected with the subject, that general Howe wished to draw the militia into Florida, where the constitutional powers of governor Houstoun, to command, would cease. Whether any other purpose could have been answered by it, except the personal gratification of general Howe, is doubted. His talents were not above mediocrity, and his generalship while he served in Georgia, was condemned by the officers who served under him, as well as by the people at large.

From fort Tonyn, he ordered three hundred Georgia militia to pursue the enemy to Alligator creek, to reconnoitre their position, and to attack them if they were not re-inforced or strongly

fortified. An entrenchment had been opened round the camp, fronted by logs and brush, as a substitute for abatis: at first view the camp was considered assailable, and a detachment of mounted militia, under the command of colonel Elijah Clarke, was ordered to penetrate the camp on the weakest flank, and if practicable to throw the enemy into confusion, of which the main body was to take advantage by advancing quickly on the front. Clarke's detachment acted with great spirit, but their utmost efforts to pass the works were vain and unsuccessful; the horses were entangled among the logs and brush, and with much difficulty got through: when they reached the ditch, it was found too wide to leap over. Here they were met by the fire and huzzas of the enemy, to which the horses had not been accustomed, and they could not be forced to meet it. Colonel Clarke was shot through the thigh, and with difficulty escaped falling into the hands of the enemy. A retreat was ordered, and the American loss was three killed and nine wounded. As the execution of this part of the plan of attack had failed, the main body did not attempt to perform that part of the operations, which had been assigned to it. Finding that nothing could be achieved, and that re-inforcements to the enemy were at hand, the Americans retreated and re-joined the army.

At an early stage of the expedition, the warmth of the climate and change of water began to show their influence on the health of the soldiery. Many of the diseased were left at fort Howe, at the commencement of the campaign. Governor Houstoun arrived at St. Mary's on the 4th of July, and colonel Williamson on the 11th. The scarcity of forage had reduced the horses to thirty-five below the necessary number to drag the artillery, ammunition, provisions, and baggage. Under such circumstances, an advance was impracticable, and a retreat could only be accomplished by means of the water communication along the coast inland. The hospital returns contained one-half of the army, and after the militia had joined in the expedition, it was found that there were as many independent

commanders, as corps. Governor Houstoun declared that he would not be commanded by general Howe; colonel Williamson said that his men were volunteers and would not yield to be commanded by a continental officer; or in fact, any other, except himself; and commodore Bowen insisted that the naval department was distinct and independent, of officers in command in the land service. With such disunion, the prospect of rendering essential service was unpromising and will always be attended with fatality.

The mortality occasioned by disease, increased to an alarming degree. A great number of militia had volunteered their services from the interior, where they had enjoyed the blessings of a healthy climate, breathed pure air, and drank clear water. The apprehensions of such, surrounded with swamps at that season of the year, induced many to desert the camp and return to their homes. Under the influence of such unpropitious prospects, there were strong grounds for the belief that a general action would have been fatal to the American army.

The rapid progress of disease and other embarrassments which have been noticed, induced general Howe to call a council of war on the 11th of July, to consult on the propriety of retreating while it was in his power. The council was composed of colonels Samuel Elbert, C. C. Pinckney, John White, — Tarling, — Eveleigh, Robert Rae, and — Kirk; and lieutenant-colonels Daniel Roberts, — Scott, — Henderson, and John M'Intosh; and majors — Wise, John Habersham, Thomas Pinckney, — Grimkie, — Brown, Roman De Lisle, Joseph Lane, and Philip Lowe.

General Howe opened the business upon which the council of war was summoned, by stating to it, the motives of the enemy from East-Florida. "The posts they occupied and were endeavouring to occupy, the stations their armed vessels had taken possession of, the number of insurgents rising in arms and forming a junction with them, the information received from deserters and persons entitled to credit, who had escaped

from St. Augustine, and from his spies sent out to make discoveries; all united to establish the fact, that an immediate invasion against Georgia, in all probability, too formidable to be repelled by the force he had at command, had induced him to call to the assistance of Georgia the continental troops of South-Carolina; and that that state, with a conduct conformable to her usual spirit and generosity, had sent with the utmost readiness, even more than of right could have been demanded; who in concert with the militia and continental troops of Georgia, had chased the enemy out of the country, obliged them to evacuate fort Tonym, from whence continual inroads had been made into Georgia, dangerous to the persons and property of its inhabitants; by which the army had, in the general's opinion, answered every purpose for which they had been called. But willing to have with him, the opinion of the field officers on every occasion, where they ought to be consulted, and ready to relinquish his own, should they offer any reasons which could authorise his doing so; he wished to propose to them several questions. But previous to this, he thought it necessary to give them the following additional information: that driving the enemy out of Georgia and dislodging them from fort Tonym, were the principal ends at which he had aimed; yet had the enemy in defence of that post, or any other, thought proper to oppose him, and he had been happy enough to meet them in detail, he should have been ready to have availed himself of every advantage which might have resulted from it. By the information received from captains Moore, Heyrn, and Taylor, the roads through Florida were naturally bad; had been rendered worse by the enemy's having broken up and destroyed the bridges and throwing other impediments in the way, so that neither artillery nor ammunition waggons could pass without great labour and loss of time; and that from all appearances, the enemy had abandoned the idea of opposition on the north side of St. John's river: that the deputy quarter-master-general had reported, that the long march and hard service had de-

stroyed many horses, and rendered so many others unfit for use, that there was a deficiency of at least forty for the absolute necessities of the service; that the surgeon-general and all the surgeons of the army had reported, that at least one-half of the troops were sick, many of them dangerously ill, and that by the encreasing inclemency of the climate, the greater part of the army then fit for duty, would either by continuing there or advancing, most probably be destroyed: that by the information received from commodore Bowen, the gallies could not get into St. John's river, without consuming much time and labour in cutting a passage through Amelia narrows; and that if such a passage could be effected, the accounts he had received, all concur in making it probable that the enemy were ready to oppose his operations, when in the river, with a superior force."

The general therefore thought proper to propose the following questions:

1st. "As driving the enemy out of Georgia, and demolishing fort Tonyn, were the objects principally aimed at; have not these purposes been effected?

"Resolved unanimously in the affirmative.

2d. "As it appears from information above recited, that the enemy do not mean to oppose us in force on this side of St. John's river; is there any other object important enough in our present situation to warrant our proceeding?

"Resolved unanimously in the negative.

3d. "Is the army in a situation to cross St. John's river, attack the enemy, and secure a retreat in case of accident, though they should be aided by the militia, now embodied under governor Houstoun and colonel Williamson?

"Resolved unanimously in the negative.

4th. "Does not the sickness which so fatally prevails in the army, render a retreat immediately requisite?

"Resolved unanimously in the affirmative.

"The general then proceeded to inform the council that the governor had denied him the right to command the militia, even

if a junction had been formed between them and the continental troops, notwithstanding the resolution of congress declaring that as to the propriety of undertaking distant expeditions and enterprizes, or other military operations, and the mode of conducting them; the general or commanding-officer, must finally judge and determine at his peril."

The general therefore thought proper to put the following questions:

1st. "Can he with propriety, honour and safety to himself, or consistent with the service relinquish the command to the governor?"

"Resolved unanimously in the negative.

2d. "Can the army whilst the command is divided, act with security, vigour, decision or benefit to the common cause?"

"Resolved unanimously in the negative.

"Agreed to and signed by all the officers, who composed the council of war."

Thus ended general Howe's expedition, on the success of which the fate of Georgia was suspended. He ordered the sick and convalescents on board of the galleys and such other boats and vessels as could be procured, under the direction of colonel C. C. Pinckney, to proceed by the inland passage to Sunbury, and with the remainder which had been reduced by disease and death, from eleven hundred to three hundred and fifty; he returned by land to Savannah. Governor Houstoun and colonel Williamson, proposed a plan of proceeding with the militia as far as St. John's river, but this arrangement was fortunately abandoned, and their commands returned to Georgia and dispersed. Several died at St. Mary's, many on their return, and some after they had reached their homes. Colonel Pinckney proceeded by the inland passage from Sunbury to Port-Royal in Carolina, where he landed those who were able to proceed by land, and carried the feeble remains of his regiment by water to Charleston.

Though this expedition cost the states of South-Carolina and

Georgia many lives and much treasure; yet perhaps the experience which was purchased at such a dear rate, may have had its advantages in the final success of the American cause. It had the effect of teaching the government, as well as the commanders of the armies, that it was as practicable for one human body to act consistently under the capricious whims of two heads, as for one army to act advantageously under many commanders.

The number of troops in the first instance was not more than equal to one complete brigade; at the head of which was a heterogeneous association, consisting of a state governor, a major-general, an illiterate colonel of militia, and a commodore of three or four gallies, with troops unaccustomed to a sickly climate at the hottest season of the year: it is astonishing that they effected a retreat without being defeated or cut off. The reduction of St. Augustine was considered absolutely necessary for the peace and safety of Georgia, and the hope of such a conquest was still cherished. The new plan proposed, was to commence the operations in the month of November; to prepare a number of batteaux, packsaddles, and bags to carry flour. The batteaux were to convey most of the troops, artillery, and baggage, under convoy of the gallies, by the inland passage to St. John's river. The beef cattle to be conducted under a strong guard of horsemen and light troops. The whole force to form a junction at St. John's river, about forty miles from Augustine, where they were to halt and prepare for offensive operations, while the men were fresh and fit for action. Three thousand men and a small train of field artillery, with battering cannon to attack the castle, were considered equal to the execution of that important service.

After the return of the troops from St. Mary's, colonel John M'Intosh was posted at Sunbury with one hundred and twenty-seven men; and the feeble remains of colonels Elbert's and White's regiments returned to Savannah, with the hope of restoring them to health, and preparing them for the field.

Before the convalescents had gained strength enough for active service, a rapid and unexpected incursion was made by the enemy into the southern part of Georgia.

General Augustine Provost, who commanded at St. Augustine, was informed by the British general at New-York, that a number of transports with troops on board, would sail from thence, direct, for the coast of Georgia, and was ordered by him to send detachments from his command to annoy the southern frontier of that state, and divert the attention of the American troops from Savannah. By these measures, the possession of that town would be obtained with little loss, the retreat of the American troops cut off, and their capture rendered probable. Re-enforcements were promised to ensure success to the enterprise. General Provost, in obedience to his orders, detached a part of his troops, and some light artillery, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Fuser, by water to Sunbury, with orders to possess himself of that post; and detached lieutenant-colonel James Mark Provost, with one hundred regular troops, by the inland navigation to fort Howe, on the Alatamaha, where he was joined by colonel M'Girth, who advanced by land and crossed St. Mary's at fort Tonym with three hundred refugees and Indians. On the 19th of November, lieutenant-colonel Provost advanced into the settlements, and made prisoners of all the men found on their farms, and plundered the inhabitants of every valuable article that was portable.

The spies, who had been posted on the frontier to watch the movements and approach of the enemy, communicated to colonel John Baker intelligence of the junction of Provost and M'Girth, and their subsequent advance, which indicated an attack upon the settlements. Baker assembled a party of mounted militia on the 24th, with the intention of annoying the enemy on their march. He proceeded as far as Bull-town swamp, where he fell into an ambuscade, which had been laid by M'Girth on the preceding day; a skirmish ensued for a few minutes, when the Americans retreated. Colonel Baker, captain Cooper, and Wil-

liam Goulding, were wounded: if the enemy sustained any loss it was not known. Colonel John White collected about one hundred men, continental troops and militia, and with two pieces of light artillery, took post at Medway meeting-house. He constructed a slight breast-work across the great-road, at the head of the causeway, over which the enemy must pass, where he hoped to keep them in check until he should be reinforced from Savannah. He sent an express to colonel Elbert, to inform him of his small force, and the advance of the enemy. Major William Baker, with a party of mounted militia was detached to skirmish with the enemy, when opportunities might present. He disputed every pass with them, when there was a prospect of retarding their progress. In one of these affairs, Charles Carter was killed. On the morning of the 24th, general James Scriven, with twenty militia, joined colonel White. Finding that the enemy was near, a small party of whom appeared in front, it was determined to meet them in ambush, on an advantageous piece of ground, about a mile and a half south of Medway meeting-house, where the main road was skirted by a thick wood. The two field pieces were served by captains Celerine Brusard and Edward Young, under the orders of major Roman De Lisle: major William Baker with his party was formed on the left, and colonel White placed himself at the head of the main body: in this order the Americans advanced. Colonel M'Girth, who was well acquainted with the country, and understood the position of the Americans, had advised colonel Provost of the advantages of placing a party in ambush, at the same place which had been selected by colonel White for the like purpose, and to advance the party above noticed, with intention to draw White from his works, and if practicable, to decoy him into the ambuscade. When the Americans approached the ground which they intended to occupy; general Scriven accompanied by his aid-de-camp lieutenant Glascock, inclined to the right to examine the ground, and colonel White made his dispositions for action. The British and Americans

arrived on the ground, and were spreading their snares for each other about the same time. A firing commenced. General Scriven had advanced but a short distance, when he fell in with a party of the enemy; and unfortunately for himself and for his country, he received a mortal wound, of which he died the ensuing day. Major Baker, who commanded the left flank, pressed the enemy with such vigour, that they gave way for a short time, but they were soon re-enforced and returned to the contest. As colonel Provost was crossing the road, a shot from one of the field pieces passed through the neck of his horse and he fell. Major Roman de Lisle supposed that the commanding-officer of the enemy was killed, advanced quickly with the field pieces to take advantage of the confusion which ensued; and major James Jackson called out *victory*, supposing that the enemy was retreating: but Provost was soon re-mounted, and advanced in force. Colonel White finding himself engaged by a great superiority of numbers, and having no prospect of a re-enforcement, thought it prudent to secure himself and his troops, by a retreat to the meeting-house: he kept out small parties to annoy the front and flanks of the enemy, and broke down the bridges as he retired. When he had regained his position, at the meeting-house, he was informed that the enemies force consisted of five hundred men. A retreat was indispensable, and knowing that the enemy would press upon his rear, he determined to oppose stratagem to numbers; he prepared a letter, as though it had been written to himself, by colonel Elbert, directing him to retreat, in order to draw the British as far as possible; and informing him, that a large body of cavalry had crossed over Ogechee river, with orders to gain the rear of the enemy, by which their whole force would be captured. This letter was dropped in such way, as to ensure its getting to colonel Provost's hand, and to attach to it the strongest evidences of genuineness. It was found, handed to Provost, occasioned a variety of conjecture, and excited some alarm: it was believed to have been so far effectual, as to deter the enemy from ad-

vancing more than six or seven miles. M'Girth had been ordered with a party to reconnoitre Sunbury, and ascertain whether lieutenant-colonel Fuser had arrived; but he returned without having gained the wished for intelligence. When colonel Elbert received colonel White's letter, at Savannah, he forwarded it to general Howe, at Zubley's ferry, and marched with two hundred men to the river Ogechee, where with the assistance of Mr. Savage's negroes, he constructed a temporary breast work by the time White had accomplished his retreat to that place. The day after the action, near Medway, captain Phillips and a lieutenant were killed in an attempt to bring off a British sentinel.

Colonel Elbert sent a flag to colonel Provost by major John Habersham, requesting permission to furnish general Scriven with such medical aid as his situation might require; supposing that he had fallen into the hands of the enemy. He was also instructed to propose some general arrangements, to secure the country against pillage and conflagration. Doctors Braidie and Alexander were permitted to attend general Scriven; but on their arrival his wounds were found to be mortal, and that any exertions made by them would be adding a useless increase of pain, to what he already experienced, for the few hours he had to live. Colonel Provost refused making any stipulations for the security of the country; observing that the people had voluntarily brought on their impending fate, by a rebellion against their sovereign. He enquired of major Habersham, and begged leave to put him upon his honour in giving an answer, whether any British transports had appeared off the coast of Georgia. Habersham at once discovered the policy of giving a correct answer to the question in the negative.

Upon hearing that no re-enforcements of British troops had arrived off the coast of Georgia, he retreated early the next morning toward St. Augustine. On his return, Medway meeting-house, and almost every dwelling-house in the country were left in smoking ruins. Rice barns and rice in the stack,

shared the same fate. Plate, bedding, wearing apparel, and other articles which could be carried off, were taken by the enemy.

Head winds had prevented colonel Fuser's arrival at Sunbury, as soon as he had expected, and colonel Provost had retreated before he entered the harbour. On the 1st of December, Fuser anchored off Colonel's Island with several small vessels laden with battering cannon, light artillery, and mortars, with five hundred men. After making the necessary preparations to attack the fort by land and water, he demanded a surrender, accompanied by declarations that he would not spare a man to relate the consequences of a refusal.

Lieutenant colonel John M'Intosh, who had the command, thought it best to exhibit a bold front, though his works would not have been tenable for an hour. He determined on opposition to the last extremity, expecting immediate relief from Savannah, and knowing that Provost had retreated; he answered the summons in four words, "*Come and take it!*" There are strong grounds for the belief that this spirited and laconic answer discouraged Fuser from making the assault; which from the weak and defenceless condition of the works and garrison, must have fallen into his hands without much loss. Fuser had detached parties into the country to forage and ascertain the position of Provost. His ear was soon saluted with the unwelcome intelligence of Provost's retreat, and the advance of troops from Savannah. He was puzzled to comprehend the causes of the former, while the latter excited alarm. Hearing nothing respecting the arrival of the expected re-enforcements from the north, and supposing that Provost had been opposed by a superior force, he thought it prudent to follow his example. Accordingly he raised the siege, re-embarked, and returned to St. John's river, where he met with Provost, each charging the other with misconduct, to which the failure of the expedition was attributed. It appears that it was not well understood, when these two officers left St. Augustine, which of them was to

have the command in case of a junction, or probably they were not expected to unite before they had joined the re-enforcements from New-York.

General Howe collected his force and marched to Sunbury, and as was his custom, pointed out the defenceless condition of the works, without resorting to any effectual remedy for their repairs. He ordered general Moultrie's regiment to march without delay, or Georgia must soon be in the possession of the enemy. He also ordered colonel Huger's regiment to follow, and to supply themselves with provision, transportation, and accommodations by impressment. Colonel Thompson's and colonel Henderson's regiments were ordered to march to Purysburgh, so as to be ready to oppose the landing of the enemy in either state, as occasion might require. Colonel Owen Roberts, of the Carolina artillery, embarked his regiment in small boats and vessels, with such ordnance and stores as were judged requisite for the service. As the threatened invasion of Georgia, presaged an attack upon Carolina, to which the motions of the enemy furnished a probable prelude, the necessary arrangements were also made for the defence of Charleston and Beaufort.

General Howe complained in his letters to congress, of the confusion which prevailed in the military arrangements in the southern department, and expressed great regret, that he was unable to produce any thing like order out of such a chaos; that the sea coast was threatened with a certain prospect of invasion, all the military works in ruins, no tools, nor any apparent disposition to make the necessary repairs; that the militia came and went when and where they pleased, and that he had more trouble with the officers than with the men. Upon these subjects, his complaints had been incessant to congress, and as he had rendered himself unpopular in Georgia, the influence of the state had been directed toward his removal from the command of the southern army. Congress had not yet discovered any prominent traits in the character of general Howe, which would justify the change which had been solicited, therefore, it was a

matter of some delicacy to remove an officer of his rank, without assigning some substantial reason for it.

When Fuser retreated from Sunbury, he left the regular troops of his command, at Frederica, on St. Simon's island, where the old military works of general Oglethorpe were temporarily repaired for defence. The loyalists proceeded with Fuser to St. John's, and thence to St. Augustine, where the booty was deposited in safety, and preparations made to return to Georgia with a more formidable force. General Provost having been disappointed in this expedition, determined to suspend further operations until he should receive certain information of the arrival of the transports from New-York; in the mean time, he held himself in readiness for that event.

CHAPTER VII.

THE Metropolis of Georgia was in the most defenceless condition imaginable. A battery had been thrown up at the eastern extremity of the city, upon which a few guns had been mounted; but it was only calculated to defend the water. Large vessels could not approach within three miles of it, there not being a sufficient depth of water to admit their passage. Every other part of the city was exposed, and the ground afforded no advantage against an equal force. On the 3d of December, one of the transports of the enemy put into Tybee and anchored off the light-house. A deserter escaped by swimming to the shore and gave a particular account of the intended descent upon Georgia, and confirmed what had been considered probable, that the troops in Florida were only waiting the arrival of the fleet to second their efforts. A number of cannon had been heard at sea in different directions, which appeared to have been signals from the different ships of the fleet, that had been separated in a storm. The number of men stated by the deserter, could not have been brought in so few transports, yet they were thought to be sufficiently numerous, to place the safety of Georgia at great hazard, in its unprepared condition. The militia ordered into service, were embodied in such positions, that by rapid movements they might be brought to any given point as circumstances might require. The continental troops had been called from South-Carolina to the aid of Georgia, except some detachments at the batteries on the sea shore, who understood gunnery; and the militia of that state were also ordered to take the field.

“Examination of William Haslem, a deserter from the British transport ship *Neptune*, captain M'Dougal commander. He stated that he arrived in the above ship two days before off Tybee, having been out from Sandy-Hook three weeks; that she was one of the fleet consisting of twenty sail, which were lying at the Hook ready for sea; that the *Neptune* and another ship

parted from their anchors in a storm which compelled them to put to sea. After they came out, captain M'Dougal opened his orders, which were to proceed to Tybee in Georgia, and there remain for forty-eight hours, and if the remainder of the fleet did not arrive in that time, that he was then to proceed to St. Mary's, and there wait until he should be informed that the fleet had arrived. That he understood that the army on board of the transports consisted of five thousand men, and supposed they would sail the next day after the Neptune came out. That the fleet was under convoy of the Phoenix, a forty-four gun ship; the Vigilant, a large floating battery; a row galley; and one or two sloops of war. That the army was composed of three battalions of the seventy-first regiment, the Jersey volunteers commanded by general Skinner; and other corps of loyalists, commanded by colonel Allen. That the Neptune had on board one hundred men with their families, who came to pass the winter in Georgia, exclusive of marines; and that the ship could only be defended by musketry, having no cannon mounted on her decks. That three weeks before they sailed, a fleet had left New-York, destined as was understood, for Virginia with ten thousand men; but heard nothing said about Charleston or South-Carolina. That on the 4th and 5th of December, he heard a number of guns at sea, which he supposed to be signals for the union of the fleet. He also understood that their orders were to burn and destroy the property of all those who refused submission to the royal government."

The foregoing examination was taken before governor Houstoun on the 6th of December, at Savannah, and a copy of it forwarded by express to general Howe at Sunbury; who received another express from the southward, informing him that general Provost was on the march from St. Augustine with all his force against Georgia.

The militia of North-Carolina were ordered to Charleston. Notwithstanding hostilities had been commenced, three years previous to this call, the militia of that state were without arms

or any other munitions of war and took the field with an entire dependence upon the resources of South-Carolina. Governor Houstoun's apprehensions for the safety of Savannah, were increased by the alarming intelligence which he received from every quarter. The security of the public records, demanded immediate attention. The governor ordered captain John Milton, secretary of the state; to have the books and papers appertaining to his office, packed up without delay and removed to a place of safety. They were accordingly put on board of the *Hinchenbrook*, a vessel which had been taken from the enemy by colonel Elbert at Frederica, but her draft was too great for the depth of water and it was found necessary to remove them in small boats to Purysburgh, and thence to the Union; the residence of Mr. Bryan, where they remained until the British army arrived at Tybee.

The weather proving unfavourable to the designs of the British fleet, they put to sea, and the first alarm had measurably subsided, under the belief that Savannah was not the real destination of the enemy. Influenced by this impression, the governor ordered captain Milton to return to Savannah with the records. Fortunately for the state, captain Milton disobeyed the order, and remonstrated to the governor against a step so hazardous to their safety. He repaired to the city for the purpose of waiting upon the governor to explain his motives; when certain information was received by the governor, that the British fleet and transports again appeared off the bar. Milton was directed to return to the Union and proceed to Charleston with the papers, where they were deposited. Captain Milton joined general Lincoln's camp, and was appointed one of his aids.

On the 24th of November, lieutenant-colonel Archibald Campbell of the British army, an officer in whose bravery and talents, great confidence had been justly placed by the commander-in-chief of the British forces at New-York; had embarked at Sandy-Hook, with the seventy-first regiment of royal Scots; two battalions of Hessians; four battalions of pro-

vincials, and a detachment of royal artillery. The transports were escorted by a squadron of the fleet under the command of commodore sir Hyde Parker. On the 27th of December they crossed the bar and came up to Cockspur island. Having made arrangements for landing: the Vigilant man of war, Keppel brig, Greenwich sloop of war, and the Comet galley, came up the river with a strong tide and favourable breeze; followed by the transports in three divisions. About five o'clock in the afternoon of the 28th, the Vigilant opened the reach at four mile point, and was cannonaded by the American gallies Congress and Lee, but without much effect. Night coming on, some of the transports grounded on a mud flat, but got off in the night at high water, and proceeded up in the morning above Five-fathom Hole, opposite to Brewton's Hill, where the first division of light infantry debarked, and marched up to take possession of the high ground, so as to cover the landing of the troops from the other transports. As this division of the enemy landed, they formed for action and marched up with great confidence.

General Howe had formed his encampment, south-east of the town of Savannah, anxiously waiting the arrival of reinforcements of militia and the continental troops from South-Carolina, under the command of major-general Benjamin Lincoln. Howe's army had not yet recovered from the fatal effects of the Florida campaign, the preceding summer: about one fourth were yet confined by disease, and many of his convalescents too feeble to encounter the fatigues of a battle. The dread of a climate, where disease had produced more terrors than the sword and not less fatal, retarded the progress of militia, and prevented many from returning, who were absent on furlough. On the day of battle, Howe's army, exclusive of militia, amounted to six hundred and seventy-two, rank and file. The force of the enemy was two thousand one hundred, including land troops, seamen, and marines; but it was thought by Howe that the enemy exhibited the appearance of greater numbers,

than what was really possessed, and that the opposing armies were nearly equal.

On the 28th a general order was issued to prepare for action, and on the 29th, the following order of battle:

“SAVANNAH, HEAD-QUARTERS,
December 29, 1778.

“Parole, Firmness. The first brigade is to be told off into sixteen platoons, of an equal number of files, the odd files to be formed into one platoon on the right wing of the brigade, to act as light infantry according to exigencies.

“Two field officers to be appointed to the command of the right wing of both brigades.

“The second brigade to be told off into eight platoons of an equal number of files to be formed on the left of the first brigade, in order to act as light infantry, as will be directed.

“Colonel Isaac Huger will command the right wing of the army, composed of the first brigade and the light troops belonging to it.

“The artillery of both brigades, and the park, to be posted before and during the action as shall be directed, and defend their ground until further orders. The artillery when ordered or forced to retreat, are to fall into the road leading to the western defile, where colonel Roberts is to take as advantageous a post as possible, to protect the retreat of the line.”

The town of Savannah is situate on high level sandy ground, forty feet above the surface of the water, on the south bank of the river, and approachable by land at three points: from the high ground of Brewton's hill and Thunderbolt, on the east, by a road and causeway over a morass, with rice fields on the north side of the causeway to the river, and the morass and wooded swamps from the causeway southward, several miles; from the south, by the road from White bluff, on Vernon river, and the road from Ogeechee ferry which unite near the town; and from the westward, by a road and causeway over the deep swamps of

Musgrove's creek, with rice fields from the causeway to the river on the north, and by Musgrove's swamp leading in from the southward. From the eastern causeway to that on the west, is about three quarters of a mile.

On the morning of the 29th, when colonel Elbert discovered the place of landing of the enemy, he advised general Howe of the advantages they would obtain, if allowed to gain undisturbed possession of Brewton's hill, and offered to defend it with his regiment; assuring him from a perfect knowledge of the ground, the advantages it would give over the enemy. Howe rejected the offer, and formed for battle on the south-east side of the town. His centre was opposed to the head of the causeway, by which he believed the enemy must approach him; his left with the rice fields in front, and flanked by the river; his right with the morass in front, and flanked obliquely by the wooded swamp, and one hundred of the Georgia militia. Colonel George Walton informed the general of a private way through the swamp, by which the enemy could pass from the high grounds of Brewton's hill and gain the rear of the American right; and which in his belief, was important and admitted of easy defence; but general Howe neglected to avail himself of the advantage which would have resulted from its being occupied and defended. The British commander availed himself of this pass, as will be seen. Brewton's hill was connected with the river, by a causeway about six hundred yards in length, with rice fields and a ditch and bank on each side. The British shipping were at anchor in the river, near to the end of the causeway. Having made his disposition, general Howe detached captain John C. Smith, of South Carolina, with his company of forty infantry, to occupy Brewton's hill and the head of the causeway, with orders, should the enemy land and approach that way, to defend it as long as it was tenable, and then to retreat to the main army: Smith advanced and occupied the position assigned him, but his force was inadequate to its object. The enemy landed, advanced on the causeway, and gained the hill: Smith defended it with gal-

lantry, but was forced to retreat, which he accomplished without loss of men. The enemy lost in this affair, one captain and two privates killed, and five privates wounded. General Howe finding that the enemy were landed, in force of which he was ignorant, but now believed, from all circumstances, to be greatly superior to his own, called a council of his field officers to advise him whether to retreat or defend Savannah. Many of the officers had every thing at stake. To secure the retreat of their families, with any part of their property, was then impracticable. The council advised defence, to the last extremity. Under existing circumstances, with the exception of the loss of lives, to retreat or be defeated, was indifferent in their consequences, and to contend with chosen troops of three times his own number, commanded by an officer whose activity, courage and experience, were not exceeded by any other in the British army in America; success was not to be expected. General Howe certainly ought not to have risked an action with a superior force, when he had certain information, that general Lincoln was advancing with a body of troops to re-enforce him, with whom he could have formed a junction in two days.

After colonel Campbell had formed his army on Brewton's hill, he moved forward and took a position within eight hundred yards of the American front, where he manœuvred to excite a belief that he intended an attack on their centre and left, for which purpose, he ordered the first battalion of the seventy-first regiment, to form on the right of the road, to divert the attention of the American general from his real intention on a different point; at the same time, a body of infantry and New-York volunteers, under the command of major, Sir James Baird, filed off from the rear, unperceived, under cover of a low thick wood, with the intention to turn the American right and gain their rear, whereby their retreat would be cut off: fortune threw in their way an old negro man, named Quamino Dolly, who, for a small reward, conducted Sir James Baird through the swamp by a bye way, by which the troops passed

unperceived and without opposition to the place of their destination: having reached the White bluff road which enters through the South common of the town, in the rear of the American troops, they commenced the attack, and Campbell moved forward and attacked the American front. By the unexpected attack on the right and rear, the American line was broken: general Howe ordered a retreat, which was made in great confusion, and before he gained the head of the causeway over Musgrove's swamp, west of the town, the only pass by which a retreat was practicable, the enemy had gained an advantageous position to dispute the passage. Colonel Roberts had retired to the post assigned to him, in the event of a retreat; and by his extraordinary exertions, the American centre gained the causeway and accomplished their retreat: the right flank was between two fires, and in retiring suffered severely: the left, under the command of colonel Elbert continued the conflict, until a retreat by the causeway was impracticable: that pass being in possession of the enemy, he attempted to escape with a part of his troops through the rice fields, between the causeway and the river, exposed to a galling fire from the high grounds of Ewensburg near the causeway; but when they reached the creek it was high tide, and only those who could swim escaped, with the loss of their arms and accoutrements; the others were made prisoners, or were drowned. About one hundred of the Georgia militia were posted in the rear of the right of the American line, on the South-common of the town, under the command of colonel George Walton; they were attacked by Sir James Baird and fought with spirit, until the colonel received a wound, fell from his horse and was taken prisoner. The way of retreat being occupied by the enemy, his command was killed, wounded, and taken. Some of them who were inhabitants of Savannah, were bayoneted in the streets by their victorious pursuers.

The remains of Howe's army attempted to rally on an advantageous ground on the west side of Musgrove's swamp, but the impetuosity of the enemy in pursuit, foiled every effort for that

purpose. They preserved three pieces of field artillery, but sustained some loss of small arms during the passage of the swamp. General Howe retreated to Cherokee hill, about eight miles, where he halted until the rear came up, and then marched up the Savannah river to the Sister's and Zuble's ferry's and crossed over into South-Carolina.

Few conquests have ever been made with so little loss to the victor. The enemy had only seven killed and nineteen wounded.

The American army lost eighty-three men killed, and thirty-eight officers, and four hundred and fifteen non-commissioned officers and privates, including the sick, wounded, and the aged inhabitants of the town and country, were made prisoners. The fort, with forty-eight pieces of cannon and twenty-three mortars and howitzers, with all the ammunition and stores belonging to them, a large quantity of provisions, the shipping in the river, and the capital of Georgia, all fell into the possession of the British army, in the course of a few hours. The private soldiers who were made prisoners on this occasion, were alternately persuaded and threatened to induce them to enlist into the British army: those who resolutely refused were crowded on board of prison-ships, and during the succeeding summer, four or five of them died every day: the staff officers, particularly those of the quarter-master's and commissary's departments, were treated in a similar way. Many gentlemen who had been accustomed to ease and affluence, were consigned to these abominable prison-ships: among the number was the venerable Jonathan Bryan, bending under the weight of years and infirmities, whose daughter, when she was entreating with commodore Sir Hyde Parker, to soften the sufferings of her father, was treated by him with vulgar rudeness and contempt.

When general Howe halted at Cherokee hill, he despatched lieutenant Tennill, with orders to lieutenant Aaron Smith of the third regiment of South-Carolina, who commanded at Ogeechee ferry, and to major Joseph Lane, who commanded at Sunbury, to evacuate their posts and retreat across the country and

join the army at the Sister's ferry. Lieutenant Smith, whose command consisted of twenty men, succeeded, and joined a detachment of the rear guard at Ebenezer, after a march of thirty-six hours through a country of swamps, covered with water. Major Lane was ordered to retreat up the south side of Ogeechee river, and to cross over opposite to, and join the army at Zubley's ferry: he received his orders in time to have effected his retreat and save his command from falling into the hands of the enemy; but captain Dollar, who commanded a corps of artillery, and many others of the principal inhabitants, whose pecuniary ruin, as well as the fate of their families, was at stake, urged Lane to the imprudence of disobeying his orders, and defending the post. Lane was afterward tried by a court-martial, and dismissed from the service, for disobedience of orders.

On the first notice of the arrival of the transports off the coast of Georgia, general Provost marched, and embarked in boats, two thousand men, consisting of artillery, infantry, loyalists, and Indians. On the 6th of January that part of his army, which moved by water was landed on Colonel's island, seven miles south of Sunbury, about ten o'clock in the morning; and Provost with the light infantry, marched and took possession of the town early on the ensuing day. Two American galleys and an armed sloop, cannonaded the enemy; but with little effect. The following day the main body of the enemy arrived. Every exertion was made to prevent the landing of the cannon and mortars near the town, by the fire from the galleys and the fort. On the night of the 8th, they took advantage of the low tide to pass behind a marsh island, opposite to the fort, with a few of their boats containing cannon, howitzers, and mortars, and landed them above the town, and placed them on batteries previously prepared. On the morning of the 9th, Provost summoned the fort to surrender unconditionally, accompanied by a statement of his force, and the weight of his metal. Major Lane replied that his duty, inclination, and means pointed to the propriety of defending the post against any force, however

superior it might be. The British batteries of cannon and mortars were opened on the fort, and replied to: Lane soon discovered that his fortress would not long be tenable, and began to repent his disobedience of orders. He parlied, to obtain better terms than unconditional surrender, but no other would be allowed him, and the time being elapsed for his acceptance or refusal, hostilities re-commenced: he parlied again, and requested until eight o'clock the next morning to consider of the conditions offered to him, which being peremptorily refused, he agreed to them; and surrendered the fort containing twenty-four pieces of artillery, ammunition, and provisions, and the garrison, consisting of seventeen commissioned officers, and one hundred and ninety-five non-commissioned officers and privates, including continental troops and militia. The American loss was one captain and three privates killed, and seven wounded. The British loss was one private killed, and three wounded.

The Washington and Bulloch gallies were taken to Ossabaw island, stranded on the beach, and burned by their crews, who took passage on board of captain Salter's sloop, and sailed for Charleston, but were captured by a British tender, and taken to Savannah. Captain John Lawson of the sloop Rebecca, of sixteen guns, put to sea and got safe to Charleston.

After Sunbury fell into the possession of the British troops, the continental officers who were made prisoners at Savannah, were sent to that place on their parole, except the reverend Moses Allen who had accepted a commission as chaplain in the Georgia brigade. This gentleman was refused the privileges allowed to the other officers, and confined on board of a prison-ship. His animated exertions on the field of battle, and his patriotic exhortations from the pulpit, had exposed him to the particular resentment of the enemy. Wearied by long confinement in a loathsome prison-ship, and hopeless of speedy release, he determined to re-gain his liberty, or lose his life in the attempt. In pursuance of this hazardous resolution, he leaped overboard with the hope of being able to swim to one of the

islands, assisted by the flood tide, but was unfortunately drowned. The death of that gentleman was lamented by the friends of Independence, and particularly by his brethren in arms, who justly admired him for his bravery, exemplary life, and many virtues. The treatment which Mr. Allen received from the British, during his captivity, is not a solitary instance of refinement in cruelty practised by them on American prisoners; numerous beyond counting, were the victims of their inhuman conduct, during the revolution.

By the defeat of the American troops at Savannah, and the capture of the town by the enemy, the future services of a considerable portion of the militia of the eastern part of the state were lost to their country; the distress of their families, and the ruin of their fortunes, would be consequent on their further resistance: many of them bowed the neck and received the yoke of the British government.

General Howe was a man of moderate talents, easy manners, and much admired by his convivial friends; but his want of circumspection was apparent, and his military qualifications had become questionable among his officers, and the private soldiery had lost their confidence in him as a leader. These impressions had been frequently communicated to the members in congress, from the southern states, who applied to that honourable body for a successor to general Howe, in the command of the army in the southern department of the United-States. If general Howe had acted on his own judgment, he would probably have retired from Savannah on his obtaining a knowledge of the great superiority of the enemy's force; but he placed himself in the council of his officers, who at any other place, and under any other circumstances, would have advised him correctly; but their private feelings and their pecuniary interests, were too deeply and immediately concerned to advise with a correct judgment. He had long been apprised of the contemplated invasion of Georgia, from New-York and Florida, and knowing that with his existing force, aided by the probable re-enforcements which

he was to expect, the defence of Savannah and low country was problematical; he ought to have removed, at least a part of his magazines and stores, to a place of greater security, and to have apprised the inhabitants of the propriety of removing their families, and most valuable moveable property from the place where the storm might burst on them unprepared for it. But the general had not contemplated his enemy on all his bearings, nor did he avail himself of all the advantages presented to him by his position.

By a resolution of congress, dated the 26th day of September, 1778, major-general Benjamin Lincoln was appointed to take the command of the army in the southern department, and ordered forthwith to repair to South-Carolina for that purpose.

When general Lincoln arrived at Charleston, he embodied the troops remaining in South-Carolina, and on the 24th of November was joined by the new levies from North-Carolina, which increased his force to twelve hundred men: with this little army, which was composed of a few regular troops, militia, and the levies from North-Carolina, who were but little better, except in the uniformity of their arms; he advanced to the relief of Georgia. On the 3d of January general Lincoln arrived at Purysburg, a few miles above Savannah, on the Carolina side of the river, where he was joined by general Howe and his suite, who gave him in detail an account of the disastrous engagement at Savannah. On the 4th, he was joined by the remnant of Howe's army, which had been placed under the orders of colonel Huger. General Lincoln finding himself in no condition to advance on his enemy, established his head-quarters at Purysburgh, and waited for the expected re-enforcements.

When general Provost had united the troops from Florida with those under the command of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, his force consisted of three thousand regular troops, and nearly one thousand loyal militia. He determined to complete the subjugation of Georgia, and to establish military posts as far as the populous settlements in the back country extended. He

confided the garrison of Savannah, and the police of the neighbouring country, to lieutenant-colonel Alexander Innes; he established a post at Ebenezer, twenty-five miles above Savannah, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel J. M. Provost; and advanced lieutenant-colonel Archibald Campbell to Augusta, at the head of eight hundred infantry and a party of militia, to establish a post at that place and to take advantage of circumstances in completing the conquest of the state. With the main body he watched the movements of the American general.

Lieutenant-colonel Innes issued a proclamation, requiring the inhabitants of the town and neighboring country to bring in their arms and accoutrements of every description, and deliver them to the store-keeper of the artillery, and to discover where arms, accoutrements, stores, and effects of every description were buried or otherwise concealed; asserting that strict search would be made, and if any effects were discovered which had been secreted after the notice given, the inhabitants of such houses or plantations, where such concealments were made, would be punished as enemies to the royal government. Regulations were established, and places designated for the landing of all boats, which were to receive permits for their departure from the superintendant of the port, to prevent property from being carried away; and for a violation of this regulation, such boats and goods were to be confiscated, and the crews punished.

On the 4th of January, previous to the arrival of general Provost, a joint proclamation was issued by commodore Sir Hyde Parker and lieutenant-colonel Campbell, as commanders of the royal navy and army in North-Carolina, South-Carolina, and Georgia, offering peace, freedom, and protection to the king's subjects in America, desiring them to repair without loss of time, and unite their forces under the royal standard; reprobatng the idea of forming a league with the French, and thereby prolonging the calamities of war; promising freedom from the imposition of taxes by the British parliament, and securing them in the irrevocable enjoyment of every privilege con-

sistent with the union of interests, on which their mutual advantage, religion and liberties depended. They promised ample protection to the persons, families, and effects of those who would immediately return and acknowledge their allegiance to the crown, and support it with their arms; and lamented the necessity of exhibiting the rigors of war against such as obstinately persisted in refusing to accept the terms of peace and happiness which were offered to them. Deserters of every description were invited to return within three months from the date of the proclamation; such inhabitants as inclined to enjoy the benefits of the proclamation, were desired to repair to head-quarters, at Savannah, and take the oath of allegiance.

On the 11th of January another proclamation was issued, offering a reward of two guineas for every citizen who adhered to the American cause, and ten guineas for every committee or assembly man, who should be taken and delivered to the commanding officer of any of the king's garrisons. Prices were affixed to all articles of merchandize, country-produce, and market vegetables, and the violation of these rules was punished by the confiscation of the articles exposed to sale. Licenses to trade, were granted only to such as had taken the oath of allegiance, and a penalty of one hundred pounds sterling was inflicted on such merchants as dealt with any other than the king's subjects. The export of every kind of produce was prohibited, unless it was accompanied by a certificate from the superintendent of the port, that such articles were not wanted for the use of the king's troops.

The families of those who adhered to the cause of their country, either in the camp or on board of prison-ships, were stripped by the British of every article of property, or necessary for subsistence that could be found: they were obliged to sustain life, and cover their bodies with such articles as were providently secreted, or were received from the cold-handed charity of a lukewarm neighbour; and however humble or scanty their morsel, gladly would they have shared it with a father, a brother,

or a husband, who was offering his blood for his country, or suffering in a loathsome prison on a small allowance of unwholesome food.

Upon a representation of the suffering of the Americans in captivity, to general Lincoln at Purysburg, the general wrote to lieutenant-colonel Campbell, then on his march to Augusta, and proposed a conference with him at Zubley's ferry, for the exchange of prisoners, and the parole of the officers until exchanged. A negotiation was consented to, and lieutenant-colonel James M. Provost was nominated to confer with major Thomas Pinckney on the subject. They had an interview on the 31st of January, and terms were proposed.

Provost proposed that the regular troops taken in Georgia, the militia taken in arms, and the men taken on their farms, without regard to age, should be considered in the exchange as prisoners of war, and produced a list to shew the number. This list contained many of the names of those who had taken protection, and those who had taken the oath of allegiance, and joined the king's standard. In exchange, was required the Highlanders at Fredericksburg; and the remainder to be completed from the prisoners taken with general Burgoyne.

Major Pinckney proposed that continental officers and soldiers should be exchanged for British officers and soldiers of corresponding rank, and that the militia who were willing again to take up arms, should be exchanged in the same way, and that the aged, and those who chose to retire and live peaceably on their farms under the British government, should be paroled.

The unfairness, nay the absurdity of colonel Provost's propositions, contrasted with the justness of those made by major Pinckney, was too variant for them to come to a speedy conclusion. The negotiation was prolonged for five days; but Provost was inflexible, and finally observed, that he wished for a speedy answer, as the transports were ready to sail with the prisoners on board, either to New-York or the West-Indies, as might be most convenient to Sir Hyde Parker. This determi-

nation, left with major Pinckney an embarrassing choice of evils: to leave the wretched prisoners to continue under their sufferings, or to establish a precedent, unjust in principle, and ruinous in its consequences to the cause of his country. He adhered to his propositions, and the negociation terminated in a disagreement.

The failure of the negociation for the exchange of prisoners on the British propositions, which would have been so favourable to them, and so injurious to the Americans, determined Sir Hyde Parker to add to the punishment of the American prisoners who refused to enlist in the British service, by sending them to New-York. Nine of these unfortunate people had already died in one day, and seven had been the daily average of deaths for a week. Their refusal to enlist into the ranks of their enemy, and fight against their countrymen, occasioned the loss of one-third of their lives.

The British chiefs had their emissaries busily employed in the back settlements of South-Carolina and Georgia. In the former, a man by the name of Boyd, with others of inferior rank; and in the latter, a man by the name of Thomas, and others who were subordinate to him. Boyd was an Irishman by birth, and had been several years an inhabitant of South-Carolina: he was bold, enterprising, and famed for acts of dishonesty: he had some time previously been at New-York, where he was invited to an interview with Sir Henry Clinton. During their conferences, the scheme of insurrection in the back country of South-Carolina was planned, and to be executed so soon as the British troops should gain possession of Savannah; and on receiving information of that event, Boyd was to assemble his troops and repair to the royal standard in Georgia. Boyd was early apprised by Campbell, of the success of the British arms in Savannah, and commenced the execution of his part of the plan, which had been concerted.

The position which general Lincoln had taken at Purysburg, was well calculated to observe the movements of general Provost,

and wait for re-enforcements: the freshets in Savannah river, at that season of the year, overflowed the swamps to the extent of two to four miles in breadth, and upwards of one hundred miles in length from the sea, so that neither general could assail the other with any prospect of advantage. By a field return on the 1st of February, general Lincoln had three thousand six hundred and thirty-nine men, composed of about six hundred continental troops, five hundred new levies, and one thousand three hundred effective militia: the residue were invalids, and without arms. If the American troops had been all effective and veteran, general Lincoln would have been about equal to his antagonist; but his numbers were principally made up by militia, on whom no dependance could be placed, when opposed to a veteran army. From the equality of the militia with their officers, and independence at home, they were unwilling to submit to the requisite discipline of a camp: they must know where they were to go, what they were going to do, and how long they were to be absent, before they would move; and if not satisfied on these points, and permitted to do as they pleased, they would be off, knowing that their punishment for desertion would be but a trifling pecuniary mulct.

The duties assigned to general Lincoln were difficult and embarrassing; but such difficulties and embarrassments were not assigned to him alone; they were in common with every general officer in the American army. If it should be enquired, how such a state of things originated? It might be answered, that it had its source in the unreasonable jealousy, that a majority of the members of congress entertained of a regular army, which could have been easily enlisted for and during the war. If the army had been engaged for the war at an early period, the wisdom of the measure would have been apparent, the economy great, the duration short, and the issue certain; but by the mistaken policy of short enlistments and reliance on militia; thousands of lives were sacrificed, millions of dollars worth of property destroyed and expended, the war prolonged, the lib-

erties of America jeopardised, and the well appointed armies of Great Britain, under experienced generals, were to be driven away by shadows like the birds and beasts of prey from the farmer's field, by the twirling of his rattle.

Early in February, a party of the enemy, commanded by major Gardiner, embarked in boats at Savannah, and proceeded by the inland passage, to take possession of Beaufort, on Port-Royal island, and establish a post; they effected a landing, but were soon after attacked and defeated by general Moultrie with an equal force, nearly all militia of Charleston. In this engagement, which lasted about one hour, forty of the enemy were killed and wounded. The victory would have been more complete, if the scarcity of ammunition had not arrested the fire from the field pieces, and the infantry generally, at the time of the enemy's retreat; they fled to their boats, and returned to Savannah.

When lieutenant-colonel Campbell was advancing on Augusta, he detached colonels Brown and M'Girth, with four hundred mounted militia, to make a forced march to the jail in Burke county, where he had ordered colonel Thomas to meet them with a party of loyalists. Colonels Benjamin and William Few, assembled some militia and joined colonel John Twiggs, who had assembled a small force, making in the whole about two hundred and fifty. Colonel Brown advanced and attacked them, and was defeated with the loss of five men killed, several others wounded, and nine were made prisoners by the Americans. Twiggs and Few retreated the ensuing day, expecting that Brown would be re-enforced by Campbell. Brown's troops were rallied in the night, and were re-enforced by two majors and a party of refugees from South-Carolina, and a detachment under major Sharp. Thus reenforced, Brown determined to renew the attack. Twiggs and Few met him, and defeated him with greater loss than he had sustained before, and himself was among the wounded. In the skirmish, captain Joshua Inman of the Americans commanded a troop of horse, and at the first onset, killed three of the enemy with his own hand.

General Elbert who had been ordered by general Lincoln, to proceed to the upper part of Carolina; crossed the river Savannah, and joined colonels Twiggs and Few: they advanced to Brier creek and skirmished with Campbell's front, and afterward, occasionally, to impede his progress toward Augusta; expecting to be re-enforced by colonel Andrew Williamson, from Carolina, and colonel Elijah Clarke from Wilkes county; but those officers with their troops, were too much engaged in a different quarter to afford relief. Elbert and Twiggs retired, and Campbell took possession of Augusta the last of January, where he established a post, and placed it under the orders of colonel Brown.

So soon as it was known in Wilkes county, that the British had taken possession of Augusta, such of the inhabitants as could remove with their families and property, passed over into South-Carolina and encamped. They took with them the remnants of their stocks of cattle, which yielded them a scanty supply of meat and milk, and the inhabitants of Carolina divided freely with them their bread kinds of food and other comforts, which they could spare. The inhabitants who could not remove by their own means, or by the assistance of their neighbours, remained in the forts or on their farms, accordingly as they were more or less exposed to ravages of the Indians.

About the 1st of February, lieutenant-colonel Campbell spread his military posts over the most populous parts of Georgia, and all opposition to the British arms ceased for a few days: the oath of allegiance was administered to the inhabitants who remained, and the torch to the habitations of those who had fled into Carolina.

When the families from Georgia were placed in security, the men assembled under their leader, colonel John Dooley, and took a position on the Carolina shore of the Savannah river, about thirty miles above Augusta. M'Girth, with three hundred loyalists, had taken a position at Kioka creek, twenty-five miles above Augusta, on the Georgia side of the Savannah river,

with orders to watch the ferries and passes, and to take possession of all the boats: colonel Dooley had parties similarly employed on the opposite shore. Dooley returned into Georgia, with a part of his troops, but was obliged to retire before one of M'Girth's detachments, commanded by major Hamilton, which pressed him closely and fired upon his rear as he recrossed the Savannah, a short distance below the mouth of Broad river. Hamilton having driven the Americans from the western parts of the state, encamped at Waters' plantation, three miles below Petersburg, with one hundred men. Dooley took a position opposite to him in Carolina, where he was joined by colonel Andrew Pickens with two hundred and fifty men of his regiment: their number thus united, was about three hundred and fifty. Though colonel Dooley was the senior officer, there appears to have been a private understanding between him and colonel Pickens, that the latter was to command. Dooley appears to have yielded to this measure, from the circumstance of three-fourths of the command belonging to Pickens' regiment.

With this united force, it was determined to attack Hamilton's detachment. On the night of the 10th of February, they passed over at Cowen's ferry, about three miles above Hamilton's encampment, and marched to attack him early in the ensuing morning, but Hamilton had marched, unapprehensive of danger, on an excursion through the country, to visit the forts and administer the oath of allegiance to such inhabitants as fell in his way. The Americans pursued the enemy, and imagining that Carr's fort would be their first object, Captain A. Hamilton, of South-Carolina, was directed to take a guide, proceed to that fort and defend it with such men as might be found there, and that the main body would move up quickly and attack the enemy in the rear. Intelligence was given at the fort in due time for defence, but there were only seven or eight aged and infirm men in it, who dreaded the consequences which would attend a failure of the attack, refused to comply with the order. The Americans were close in the enemy's rear when they

reached the fort, and anxiously listened for the signal gun, but they had the mortification to observe that the fort gate was opened, and the attack was then necessarily commenced, without any of the contemplated advantages. The enemy left their horses and baggage, took possession of the fort and defended it. A brisk fire was supported by both parties, but with little effect on either. The enemy's fire commanded the spring, and as a siege was determined on, to cut off the supply of water from the besieged, was no longer to be neglected by the assailants. The possession of a new log building near the fort would accomplish this object, as it commanded the spring. The building could be approached only through an open exposure to the enemy's fire; which was suddenly accomplished by captain William Freeman, with about forty men of his company. Early in the evening, the enemy's horses, accoutrements, and baggage were brought off, and all the avenues for their escape, secured. In the afternoon the enemy had been summoned to surrender, which was refused. A request succeeded, that the women and children might be permitted to leave the fort, which was also refused. The possession of the new building, which gave the assailants the command of the water; also gave them the command of the tops of the huts within the fort, from whence the most injurious fire proceeded. The enemy was without food and water, and it was confidently believed that they could not hold out twenty-four hours. The sanguine expectation of a surrender, and thereby recovering the western district of Georgia, was marked with pleasure in the enlivened countenances of the besiegers; but disappointment awaited them. About ten o'clock at night, colonel Pickens received a letter by captain Ottery from his brother, captain Joseph Pickens, by which he was informed, that colonel Boyd was passing through Ninety-six district with eight hundred loyalists, toward Georgia; spreading destruction of property and of lives, by fire and the sword, wherever he passed. A proposition was made by some volunteers to set fire to the fort at different places, at the same time, which would

compel an immediate surrender ; but the distress of the unfortunate families within the fort, consequent on such a measure, induced colonels Pickens and Dooley to decline the proposal. The siege was raised, the wounded carried off, and major Hamilton left in quiet possession of the fort, dismounted and without baggage. Hamilton retreated to Wrightsborough, where he tenanted a small stockade fort for a few days, and thence marched to Augusta, and joined lieutenant-colonel Campbell. In Hamilton's report, he states his loss at nine killed and three wounded ; and the American loss at five killed and seven wounded.

The Americans retired from Carr's fort, recrossed Savannah river, near fort Charlotte, and advanced toward Long-Cane settlement, where re-enforcements were expected, and to meet the enemy under the command of colonel Boyd. Captain Robert Anderson, of Pickens' regiment, hearing of the advance of Boyd, through the settlement, directed captains Joseph Pickens, William Baskin, and John Miller, to join him without loss of time with such force as could speedily be collected. Anderson crossed the Savannah with eighty men, intending to annoy Boyd on his passage over the river, where he was joined by a few Georgians under captain James Little. Boyd changed his route and took a direction to the Cherokee ford, in order to avoid Pickens and Dooley. At that ford a block house had been erected on the north-east side, upon a commanding hill, in which there were two swivels mounted, commanded by a lieutenant with eight men. Boyd demanded a passage, which being spiritedly refused, he turned up the river about five miles, passed it with his men and baggage on rafts, and swam his horses. Boyd's troops landed at different places : by the small comparative force under captain Anderson, and the thick canebrakes on the low grounds, he was unable to observe and attack the enemy at the different landings : his attention was arrested by what he conceived to be the main body. As the enemy approached the landing, Anderson commenced his fire and opposed them with great resolution ; but finding himself unexpectedly attacked in the rear, he ordered a retreat.

The American loss in this skirmish, was sixteen killed and wounded, and sixteen taken prisoners: among the latter, were captains Baskin and Miller.

Colonel Boyd acknowledged a loss of one hundred in killed, wounded, and missing; many of this number deserted him and returned to their homes.

Captain Anderson secured as many of his wounded as his situation would enable him, retreated and joined Pickens and Dooley in pursuit of the enemy.

On the 12th of February, the Americans passed over Savannah river, into Georgia, at the Cedar shoal, and advanced to Fish dam ford on Broad river. Captain Neal, with a party of observation, was ordered to gain the enemy's rear, and occasionally send a man back with the result of his discoveries, so as to keep the main body well informed of the enemy's movements. To avoid danger, Boyd at first shaped his course to the westward, and on the morning of the 13th, crossed Broad river near the fork, at a place now called Webb's ferry, and thence turned toward Augusta, expecting to form a junction with M'Girth at a place appointed on Little river. The corps of observation, under captain Neal, hung close upon the enemy's rear, and made frequent communications to Pickens and Dooley. The Americans crossed Broad river, and encamped for the night on Clarke's creek, within four miles of the enemy. Early on the morning of the 14th, the Americans resumed their march with a quickened pace, and soon approached the enemy's rear, but with such caution as to remain undiscovered. The line of march was the order of battle, wherever the face of the country admitted of it: colonel Dooley commanded the right wing and lieutenant-colonel Clarke the left, each consisting of one hundred men; and the centre by colonel Pickens, consisting of two hundred, and an advance guard, one hundred and fifty yards in front. Under three leaders, whose courage and military talents had been often tested; this inferior number, of four against seven, looked forward to a victory with great confidence.

Early in the morning, they passed the ground where the enemy encamped the preceding night.

Colonel Boyd was unapprehensive of danger, and halted at a farm on the north side of Kettle creek; his horses were turned out to forage among the reeds in the swamp, and some bullocks were killed, and corn parched to refresh his troops, who had been on short allowance for three days. The encampment was formed on the edge of the farm next to the creek, on an open piece of ground, flanked on two sides by the cane swamp. The second officer in command, was lieutenant-colonel Moore, of North-Carolina, who it is said, possessed neither courage nor military skill: the third in command, major Spurgen, is said to have acted with bravery, and gave some evidence of military talents.

After the Americans had marched three or four miles, the enemy's drums were heard to beat. They halted for a few minutes, and were ordered to examine their guns and prime them afresh. Captain M'Call had been ordered in front to examine the enemy's situation and condition, and to report it; he reported the situation of the encampment, the nature of the adjacent ground, and that the enemy were, apparently, unsuspecting of danger; having passed the flank within musket shot, and in full view. Satisfied upon these points, the Americans advanced to the attack. As the camp was approached, the enemy's piquets fired and retreated. Boyd ordered the line to be formed in the rear of his camp, and advanced at the head of one hundred men, who were sheltered by a fence and some fallen timber. The American centre filed off a little to the right, to gain the advantage of higher ground. Boyd contended for the fence with bravery, but was overpowered and compelled to order a retreat to the main body. On his retreat he fell under two wounds through the body and one through the thigh, which proved mortal. The other two divisions were embarrassed in passing through the cane, but by this time had reached their points of destination, and the battle became warm, close and

general, and some of the enemy who had not formed, fled into the cane and passed over the creek, leaving behind them their horses, baggage, and some of their arms. Colonel Clarke observed a rising ground on the opposite side of the creek, in the rear of the enemy's right, on which he believed they would attempt to form. After a warm contest, which lasted an hour, the enemy retreated through the swamp over the creek. Clarke ordered his division to follow him across the creek, and at the same moment his horse was shot, and fell under him; he was quickly re-mounted, and fortunately fell into a path which led to a fording place on the creek, and gained the side of the hill. His division had not heard, or had not understood the order, in consequence of which not more than one fourth of it, followed him. While major Spurgen was forming the enemy upon one side of the hill, colonel Clarke attacked him upon the other side; which gave intimation to the remainder of his division, by which he was soon joined. Colonels Pickens and Dooley pressed through the swamp with the main body in pursuit, and when they emerged from the cane, the battle was again renewed with great vigour. For a considerable time the contest was obstinate and bloody, and the issue doubtful. The Americans finally gained the summit of the hill; the enemy began to retreat in some confusion, and fled from the field of battle.

This engagement is said to have lasted one hour and forty-five minutes, and for the last half hour was close and general. Great credit is given to colonel Clarke for his foresight, in speedily occupying the rising ground on the west side of the creek, upon which the victory appears to have been balanced. Considering the equality of the troops in point of military experience and equipment; and that the numbers in the ranks of the enemy were seven to four; the result of this engagement reflects great honor and credit on the American officers and soldiers who were engaged in it, and it was justly considered a brilliant victory.

About seventy of the enemy were killed and died of their

wounds, and seventy-five were taken prisoners, including the wounded who could be carried off the ground. The American loss was nine killed, and twenty-three wounded, two mortally. The prisoners that Boyd had taken at the skirmish on Savannah river, were in charge of a guard in advance, which consisted of thirty-three men, including officers, with orders, in case of disaster, to move toward Augusta. When the guard heard the result of the engagement, they voluntarily surrendered themselves prisoners to those whom they had in captivity, upon a promise of their influence for pardon and permission to return home. This promise was complied with, upon condition that they would take the oath of allegiance to the American government.

After the action was ended, colonel Pickens went to colonel Boyd and tendered him any services which his present situation would authorize, and observed, that as his wounds appeared to be mortal, he would recommend those preparations which approaching death required: Boyd thanked him for his civilities, and enquired, what had been the result of the battle? Upon being informed that victory was with the Americans; he observed, that it would have been otherwise if he had not fallen. He said, that he had marched from his rendezvous with eight hundred men; one hundred of that number was killed and wounded, or deserted at Savannah river; and that on the morning of the action, he had seven hundred men under his command. He had the promise of colonel Campbell, that M'Girth with five hundred more, should join him on Little river, about six miles from the field of battle, on that evening or the ensuing morning; he concluded by saying, that he had but a few hours to live, and requested that colonel Pickens would leave two men with him to furnish him with water, and bury his body after he died; and that colonel Pickens would write a letter to Mrs. Boyd to inform her of his fate, and therewith send to her a few articles which he had about his person: he expired early in the night, and his requests of colonel Pickens were faithfully complied with.

Dispirited by the loss of their leader, and sore under the lashes of the Americans, the enemy fled from the scene of action; their army exploded, and some of the fragments fled to Florida, some to the Creek nation, some found their way to the Cherokees, some returned to their homes and submitted to the mercy of the American government, and the remnant under the command of colonel Moore, fled to Augusta, where they expected some repose from fatigue and defeat; about two hundred of the insurgents reached Augusta, who had little claim to merit or the respect of the British army, and were neglected and treated accordingly.

The parties of Boyd and M'Girth would have formed a junction in a few hours, if the Americans had not over-hauled the former: hearing of the fate of their friends, M'Girth and his party made a precipitate retreat to Augusta and rejoined the British troops under Campbell.

The insurgents taken at Kettle creek, were conveyed to South-Carolina and tried by laws of the state; found guilty of treason, and sentenced to suffer death: the sentence was executed on five of the most atrocious offenders, and the others were pardoned.

The Americans returned from the field of action, and encamped for the night near the place where the town of Washington now stands, and re-crossed the Savannah river on the 15th, near fort Charlotte.

In the several engagements at Carr's fort and Kettle creek, the Americans took as booty, about six hundred horses and their equipments, with a quantity of arms, accoutrements, and clothing.

Colonel Campbell had secured the submission of the eastern and many of the western inhabitants of Georgia, by the lures of peace and security of persons and property, without being compelled to take up arms: this illusion was but of short duration.

Shortly after the action of Kettle creek, general Andrew Williamson, with a part of the militia of his brigade, and some of

the Georgia militia, took a position near Augusta, on the Carolina side of the river. Colonel Leonard Marbury, with fifty dragoons of his regiment and some militia, took post near Brownsborough, in Richmond county. Colonel Twiggs, and lieutenant-colonel John M'Intosh, assembled some of the militia of Richmond county, and passing downward in the rear of the British, at Augusta, surprised one of their out-posts at Herbert's, consisting of seventy men; killed and wounded several of the British regulars and militia, and compelled the remainder to surrender.

A reconnoitering party of twenty of the king's rangers, under the command of captain Whitley, and lieutenants M'Kenzie, and Hall, was sent toward Brownsborough to ascertain if there was any American force assembling in that quarter. Colonel Marbury's spies gave him intelligence of Whitley's position and force. Marbury detached captain Cooper, with twelve dragoons, to gain Whitley's rear, while he advanced on his front, giving sufficient time for Cooper to get to the position assigned to him: Cooper gained the rear much sooner than was expected, and charged the enemy while at dinner; Whitley and his party were surprised, and surrendered without resistance. Lieutenant Hall was a native of South-Carolina, and had formerly been in the American service, commanded in a small fort on the frontier of that state, which he treacherously surrendered to the Cherokee Indians, by which the women and children, as well as the men who garrisoned the fort, fell a sacrifice under the knife and hatchet of the Indians. Hall was sent to the gaol at Ninety-six, and tried for treason, found guilty, and condemned to be hanged on the 17th of April. When at the gallows, he confessed his crime, and acknowledged the justice of his sentence.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL JOHN ASH, with a body of North-Carolina militia was advancing to re-enforce general Samuel Elbert, and about to form a junction. Colonel Campbell finding his position was unsafe, suddenly abandoned it and retreated to Hudson's ferry, about fifty miles from Savannah, where lieutenant-colonel Provost had constructed a fortified camp, and mounted some light artillery: he evacuated Augusta so precipitately, that he did not take time to destroy a considerable quantity of provisions which he had collected at that place.

General Ash passed the river at Augusta on the 28th of February, and pursued Campbell as far as Brier creek, where he halted and encamped. General Lincoln with three thousand men, was encamped at Purysburgh: general Rutherford, from North-Carolina, with seven hundred men, was encamped at Black swamp: general Williamson, with twelve hundred men, was encamped at Augusta: and general Ash, with seventeen hundred men, was encamped at Brier creek; in a position the most completely calculated for the destruction of his army, of any which he could have selected, if the enemy should attack and defeat him; with a deep impassable creek on his left, the Savannah river on his rear, a lagune, deep and wide, on his right, and an open uninterrupted entrance for his enemy on his front.

General Lincoln believed himself sufficiently strong to commence active operations against the enemy; to which end he required general Ash to meet him and general Moultrie, at general Rutherford's quarters, at Black swamp, on the first of March, to concert measures for future operations. In the council it was agreed to concentrate their forces, attack the enemy, and endeavour to recover Georgia: general Lincoln was to march with a large portion of the troops at Purysburgh, and general Rutherford from Black swamp, to proceed up the Savannah river, about eighty miles and cross over into Georgia; form a

junction with general Williamson; thence march down the river and unite his force with general Ash. It was enquired of Ash, if his position was secure, and such that his troops could act with the best advantage? General Ash expressed himself confidently, as to the safety of his command, against any force, in the power of the enemy to bring against it: he observed that the enemy appeared to be afraid of him, believing his numbers to be greater than they were; he only asked for a detachment of artillery with two field pieces, which general Lincoln ordered to his assistance, commanded by major Grimkie.

Aware of the gathered strength of the Americans, and believing that the first movement of general Lincoln would be to concentrate his forces, Lieutenant colonel Campbell determined to strike at Ash, whose position was just such as he could have wished it to be. He advanced a battalion of the seventy-first regiment and one hundred and fifty Carolina loyalists to Buck creek, three miles south of Brier creek bridge, to amuse the American general, and mask his real design. Lieutenant colonel Provost with eight hundred and fifty of the regular infantry, two hundred dragoons, two hundred Florida rangers, mounted, four hundred and fifty loyal militia, and a detachment of artillerists with five field pieces, was ordered to march by a circuitous route of about forty miles, to gain the rear of general Ash, and to surprise and attack him in his camp. In the evening of the 1st of March, Provost marched up on the south side of Brier creek: early in the morning of the 2d he reached the crossing place, but the Americans had destroyed the bridge: a temporary one was constructed, but by the want of suitable cordage and grapnels, it could not be fixed to withstand the current, and a pontoon was substituted, which occasioned considerable delay: the light infantry and cavalry were passed over on the evening of the 2d, and ordered to advance and cut off all information, and to separate the detachments of observation from the American camp. The main body of the troops and artillery, had passed before day-light on the morning of the 3d, and continued their march.

On the morning of the 3d, general Ash ordered major Ross, of South-Carolina, with three hundred horsemen to pass Brier creek, and reconnoitre the enemy at Hudson's ferry; with an intention of attacking that post so soon as he was re-enforced by general Rutherford, if major Ross should report that the measure was feasible. Ross discovered the trail of a part of the enemy advancing, but did not deem it of sufficient importance to be communicated to the general. Colonel Leonard Marbury with his dragoons, had been detached to watch the upper passes of Brier creek, and exchanged a few shot with the van of the enemy as they passed it, at Paris' mill; of which he sent an express to apprise the general, but the express fell into the hands of the enemy. General Elbert, who was attached to Ash's command, had obtained intelligence of Marbury's recontre, of which he informed Ash early in the day.

General Andrew Williamson was advancing from Augusta to join general Ash; and although at a considerable distance, had detached parties to reconnoitre the enemy. It was from an express sent from one of these parties by Williamson, that Ash obtained the first intelligence, that the enemy was advancing on him, which was just communicated, when the general received a message from colonel Smith, in confirmation. Smith commanded the baggage guard, about eight miles up the river from the encampment.

Ash had reduced his present force, to eight hundred men, by detachments. About a mile in advance of his camp, and a short distance above the main road, and bridge of Brier creek, he had posted a piquet guard of one hundred men, which was sub-divided into several parts, with a chain of centries along the front; and in their rear, the light infantry was posted with a four pounder.

General Ash ordered the beat to arms! and strange as it may appear, at that late hour, cartridges were to be distributed to the militia, some of whom had rifles, some shot guns, a few had muskets, and some were without arms.

Thus equipped, without any pre-concerted plan, general Ash ordered his troops into the line of battle in three divisions; the right, under the command of colonel Young; the centre, under the command of general Bryant; the left was committed to the care of general Elbert, and lieutenant-colonel John M'Intosh; and consisted of about sixty continental troops and one hundred and fifty Georgia militia, to which a light field piece was attached.

At three o'clock, p. m. the enemy's advance-guard attacked and drove back the American piquets, and took some prisoners, who gave information that the Americans were unsuspecting of an enemy in force, being near. Provost made his disposition for action: the light infantry, with two field pieces, was formed on the right, with orders to penetrate by a road leading toward the American camp: the centre was composed of the second battalion of the seventy-first regiment, with some rangers and Carolina loyalists on its left, and with a howitzer and two field pieces in front; the left consisted of one hundred and fifty dragoons, with orders to turn the American right: the reserve was formed four hundred yards in the rear, composed of three companies of grenadiers, and a troop of dragoons; and fifty rifle-men were placed in ambuscade at a pass, by which it was supposed the Americans might turn their left and attack their rear. At four, p. m. the British moved forward and commenced the attack.

When general Ash had formed his line, he advanced about a quarter of a mile in front of his encampment, with his left at the creek, and his right extending within a half mile of the river swamp. The British advancing in three columns of six in front displayed, and opened their fire at the distance of one hundred and fifty yards from their cannon. The American centre, which was in advance, began to retreat in about five minutes, and the right broke and ran the instant they were attacked. Colonel Young, who commanded the right, said that it was not his intention to retreat; but perceiving that the enemy intended

to turn his right, he wished to file off to the right to prevent it, but his troops construed his intentions into an order to retreat. The centre and right fled in the utmost confusion. General Elbert with the left, maintained his ground with so much gallantry, that the British reserve was ordered to support their right; and notwithstanding the great superiority of the enemy, Elbert supported the conflict, until every avenue of a retreat was cut off. Finding that further resistance would be temerity, he ordered his gallant little band to ground their arms and surrender. Nearly the whole of his command was killed, wounded, or made prisoners.

The Americans who fled, entered the river swamp, of two or three miles in extent, to escape from the enemy; such of them as could swim passed the river, and many who made the attempt were drowned.

The American loss was estimated at one hundred and fifty killed and drowned; twenty-seven officers, and one hundred and sixty-two non-commissioned officers and privates, were taken prisoners; seven pieces of field artillery, a quantity of ammunition, provisions, and baggage, and five hundred stand of arms, were lost or fell into the possession of the victors. The British loss was one commissioned officer and fifteen privates killed and wounded. Generals Ash and Bryant, with two or three hundred of the fugitives were stopped at Bee's creek bridge, twenty miles from the scene of action, in the evening of the same day, by captain Peter Herry, who was marching with a detachment to join the camp; some with, and some without arms.

The loss of general Elbert and his command, of Neal's dragoons, and many of Pirkins' regiment of North-Carolina, was considered as seriously calamitous to Georgia; which had more than one thousand men, including nearly all the regular troops of the state, in captivity with the British.

The defeat of general Ash added something to the stock of American experience; and although it was purchased at so high

a price, it had some effect on the subsequent conduct of the militia: their independence and ungovernable dispositions were checked; and a practical lesson was taught them of the necessity of more subordination, and of guarding with greater precaution against surprise. On the evening after the defeat of general Ash, he made the following communication to general Lincoln:

“Matthews’ Bluff, March 3, 1779.

“SIR—I am sorry to inform you, that at three o’clock, P. M. the enemy came down upon us in force, what number I know not: the troops in my division, did not stand fire five minutes; many fled without discharging their pieces. I went with the fugitives half a mile, and finding it impossible to rally the troops, I made my escape into the river swamp, and made up in the evening to this place; two officers and two soldiers came off with me. The rest of the troops, I am afraid, have fallen into the enemy’s hands, as they had but little further where they could fly to: luckily major Grimkie had not got the artillery out of the boat, so that I shall keep them here with general Rutherford’s brigade, to defend this pass, until I receive further orders from you. This instant general Bryant and colonel Pirkins arrived. Colonel Eaton was drowned crossing the river.* Since writing the above, a number of officers and soldiers have arrived: we have taken a man, who says he was taken by them, and would not take their oath, and was formerly under Lee to the northward. He informed there were seventeen hundred red-coats in the action, also a number of new levies from New-York, Georgia militia, and Florida scouts: that fifteen hundred men had been marched up to Augusta to fortify that place; that they are fortifying Hudson’s ferry strongly; that the day before they marched off, seven thousand men had arrived from New-York. Generals Bryant and Rutherford are of opinion, that it is better to retreat to your quarters: therefore

* Colonel Eaton was not drowned, but the first who arrived at general Lincoln’s camp, and gave an account of the defeat.

I am inclined to march to-night, when we get all our fugitives over. I am, &c.

JOHN ASH."

Majors Ross and Cooper, who had been detached to reconnoitre the enemy's camp at Hudson's succeeded in bringing off the piquet, consisting of forty men. They had entered the British camp before they were apprised of Ash's defeat. They succeeded in making a retreat, but lost their prisoners. They marched up the river a few miles and fell in with Ash's ammunition waggons, which they escorted to Spirit creek, near Augusta.

The defeat of Ash disconcerted the plans of general Lincoln. If the army had been concentrated, as was intended, the American forces, including the re-enforcements about to join them, would have amounted to seven thousand men; an army sufficient, as it was believed, to have driven the British troops out of Georgia. The wavering and disaffected would have joined the American standard, and South-Carolina would not have been invaded. The parties of militia, who were on their march to join the army, heard of the disaster, and returned home; such as were previously undecided in their politics, joined the enemy.

In order to reconcile the inhabitants of this colony to Great-Britain, it was declared that no duty, tax, or assessment whatever, should be levied upon the colonists, except only such duties as it should be expedient to impose for the regulation of commerce; the nett proceeds of such duties to be paid and applied only to the use of the colony.

The eastern division of Georgia, having at this time fallen into the possession of the enemy, the English laws which had been in force to the close of the year 1775, re-commenced their operation. At the same time, president Heard, and the executive council had retreated to Wilkes county; so that there was a royal government in the eastern, and a republican government in the western parts of the state at the same time.

The different corps which composed the British army in Georgia, were the first, second, and third battalions of the

seventy-first regiment of royal Scots light infantry; part of the sixteenth and sixtieth regiments; two battalions of Hessians; Dulaney's corps from New-York; Jersey volunteers; King's rangers, and Carolina loyalists: making a total of more than four thousand men, and general Vaughn, with five thousand, were daily expected from New-York. After these arrived, the capital of South-Carolina was intended as the object of future operations. Previously to the embarkation of lieutenant-colonel Campbell, he had refused to take command of the southern British army, until he received assurances that the expedition against South-Carolina would be supported with adequate reinforcements. He appears to have been dissatisfied with general Provost's having taken the chief command and government of Georgia, after he had made the conquest.

Colonel Campbell was an officer at all points; circumspect, quick, brave, and profound in military finesse; courteous, humane, polished in his manners, and perfect in his knowledge of mankind. The departure of such an officer from the southern states, and from America, excited joyful sensation among the friends of freedom and independence. He sailed soon after for England.

In addition to the British force already stated, five hundred Indians were assembled on the Alatomaha river, and a proffer of all the aid of the Creek and Cherokee Indians, under the influence of Stuart and Cameron, to engage in any enterprise, which might be required of them.

Hudson's ferry and Paris' mill, were well fortified; cannon mounted at each, and strongly garrisoned. Ebenezer and Sister's ferries, were put into a state of defence, and all the passes of Savannah river secured by the British. The light troops were held prepared to move to any point, on short notice.

After the defeat of colonel Boyd, at Kettle creek, and the subsequent retreat of the British troops from Augusta; the Georgians who had fled to South-Carolina for safety, returned with their families and property to Wilkes county. They had

scarcely occupied the forts and settlements, before they were alarmed by the approach of a body of Creek Indians, under the command of Tate and M'Gilvery, two Indian agents in the British interest. The approach and destination of this party were ascertained from an intercepted letter written by colonel John Thomas, who had been directed to supply them with provisions so soon as they arrived at Ogechee.

Colonel Pickens marched from South-Carolina to the assistance of Georgia, with two hundred men of his regiment, and joined colonel Dooley, in Wilkes, with about one hundred. Colonel Clarke remained on the frontier to guard the forts. At that period, every man of sixteen years of age and upward, was required to bear arms. Dooley's and Pickens' regiments were joined at Wrightsborough, by parts of colonel Few's regiment, colonel Leroy Hammond's, from Carolina, and major Ross, with two troops of horse. Lieutenants Alexander and Williams, were ordered to search for the Indian camp and ascertain their number and position. They proceeded to the encampment near Fulsom's fort: they returned and reported to the commanding-officer, that they had made a near approach to the camp, under cover of the night, and counted the numbers of the Indians at several fires; from which they judged that there were about eight hundred. The Americans marched all night, with a hope of reaching and surprising the Indians, before day light, but some of the disaffected inhabitants, apprised Tate and M'Gilvery, that the American army was approaching. Unwilling to meet in a general engagement, the Indians fled in small parties and in various directions. Detachments were ordered in the pursuit, and in three instances, the Indians were overtaken. Majors Ross and Cooper came up with the party which they followed, killed three and dispersed the remainder; but unfortunately, major Ross received a mortal wound, of which he died two days after. The activity and courage of this officer, who possessed a mind quick in expedients, in taking advantage of an enemy, and fertile in invention, in escaping from embarrass-

ments; rendered his loss important to the cause in which he was engaged. Captain Newsom, lieutenants Bentley and Alexander, with five others, fell into an ambuscade; the two former, and a man by the name of Thomas, were killed; the other five escaped with the loss of their horses and caparisons. Major Burwell Smith overtook the Indians which he pursued; killed one, and had one of his own men wounded.

With the greatest appearance of confidence, the functions of the royal government in the eastern division of the state, continued in operation. The security of private property was promised, and the vents to wealth were laid open to those who had returned to the king's standard. On the 15th of March, John Penman, Martin Jollie, James Robertson, William Telfair, and Roger Kelsal, were appointed commissioners of claims, by lieutenant-colonel Campbell. The duties assigned to this board, were to take possession of all the negroes, and other effects belonging to those who had taken an active part against the king's government. They opened an office in Savannah, and required all those who had possession of negroes or other effects, such as are above described, to make a return of them without delay; otherwise prosecutions were to be commenced by the attorney-general against defaulters.

The purport of Campbell's instructions to the commissioners, was to appoint such overseers and managers as they might deem necessary, not only for the care and employment of the negroes, stocks, and effects, on the confiscated plantations of the American adherents, but also for the improvement and cultivation of them. They were also directed to require of these overseers and managers, monthly reports, specifying the numbers of negroes and stock, and the progress of cultivation made on the several plantations entrusted to their care. Regular accounts were required of the disbursements necessary in cultivation, for the transportation of the proceeds to market, for the use of the king's troops, and other purposes, connected with the prosecution of the war. After paying the contingent ex-

penses, the residue was to be appropriated as above mentioned, under the direction of the governor and his council. Through the medium of these arrangements, the deluded inhabitants, who had yielded and taken the king's protection, vainly hoped for freedom from future taxation.

The defeat of general Ash at Brier creek, was canvassed by the American army with great freedom: the public voice charged him with cowardice and a deficiency of military talents. Finding that he was viewed by all grades in the army, with contempt and disrespect, he demanded of general Lincoln, a court of enquiry, which was granted. The court was convened on the 9th of March, with instructions to inquire into the causes which had occasioned the disastrous defeat of the American army, on the 3rd of that month, under the command of general John Ash, and to report the opinion of the court, relative to the military conduct of that officer. Brigadier-general Moultrie, was appointed president; brigadier-general Rutherford, colonels Armstrong, Pinckney and Locke, members; and Edward Hyrne, deputy-adjutant-general, recorder. General Ash was asked by the president, if he wished to make any observations to the court, before the witnesses were examined? he answered in the affirmative. He proceeded to describe the situation of the camp between Brier creek and Savannah river, and the country around it. He alleged that the creek was fordable above and below the camp, and that it was so narrow in many places, that by felling a tree across it, infantry could pass over without difficulty. The other observations made by the general, were similar to those in his narrative of the action and defeat. He added that he had no intrenching tools; the time he had been upon the ground, was too short to admit of his making himself acquainted with its advantages or disadvantages; the militia under his command were without pouches or cartouch boxes, nor was it in his power to prevent a useless waste of ammunition, if they had been supplied before the action. He acknowledged that he had galloped off the field of battle, while the Georgians under Elbert

and M'Intosh were engaged, and without giving them any order to retreat; but his intention was to gain the front of the retreating militia, with a view of rallying them. With this intention he proceeded about three quarters of a mile, and finding the militia could not be stopped, and that death or captivity must be his own fate, if he persisted, he had entered the swamp to make his escape. Ash said that his own number was reduced by detachments and furloughs, to six hundred men, and he imagined he was opposed by three thousand.

Several of the witnesses testified, that a large proportion of the army had been detailed for fatigue, distant guards, and scouting parties; that the whole army was much fatigued from hard marches, and had been badly provisioned. The general was among the first who fled; whether to rally his men or to make his escape, was variously conjectured; the latter opinion, however, prevailed. General Bryant testified, that he disapproved of the ground on which the encampment was formed, and that he expressed this opinion to general Ash; but the quarter-master laid out the encampment, and assigned the officers their different stations, agreeably to the orders of general Ash; that the enemy's spies had been on the lines all the night of the 2d, and that he had advised the general of his apprehensions of danger; that on the day of battle, general Elbert and himself, advised the plan of marching out to meet the enemy, in preference to that of receiving the attack in the camp; that he saw general Ash retire from the field, and as he supposed, to rally the militia; that he did not discover any thing like surprise or cowardice, in the general's conduct; and he believed every thing was done to prevent the defeat, which existing circumstances admitted.

Several of the witnesses testified, that the ammunition was not all distributed when the militia were ordered to form for action, that they heard complaints among the men near them, that the cartridges were too large for the calibres of their guns, and that it was useless for them to stand and be shot at, when

it was not in their power to render any assistance. Others said it was time for them to shift for themselves, when their general had run away. Colonel Brevard testified that he heard general Ash say, it was too late to attempt to rally the men, before he left the field, and he saw him retreat immediately after, and it was his belief, that the general had not many men in front of him. Captain Fall testified, that the advanced piquets were completely surprised, and that many of them retreated without discharging their guns.

After the evidence was closed, general Ash denied the assertions of general Bryant, and declared he had given that officer verbal orders, for a removal from the place of encampment, before he crossed the river to the conference in Carolina with general Moultrie and general Rutherford, that he did not return until about noon, on the day preceding the battle, and that he was then surprised to find the troops upon the old encampment.

“The court having maturely considered the matter before them, are of opinion, that general Ash did not take all the necessary precautions, which he ought to have done, to secure his camp and obtain timely intelligence of the movements and approach of the enemy.”

General Lincoln did not order the trial of general Ash by a court-martial; but it was believed, was governed by milder measures, which he conjectured were for the good of his country. Ash was popular as a man, which was the chief requisite with the militia in the choice of an officer—his military requisites, were not so much considered: the militia were brought into camp by persuasion, and kept there by soft and soothing treatment, and if not permitted to disobey orders, that were disagreeable to them, with impunity, they would desert; and by the mildness of the militia laws of the several states, there was no adequate punishment for the offence. Some militia corps selected their officers, because they had testimonials of their circumspection and courage; to such, these observations are not meant to apply.

While general Lincoln was encamped at Purysburgh, there was frequent skirmishing between small parties of his troops, with the enemy toward Savannah. On the night of the 20th of March, the Congress and Lee gallies, commanded by captains Campbell and Milligan, were ordered to attempt to surprise two British gallies, the Comet and Hornet, commanded by lieutenants Stone and M'Kenzie, which were at anchor near Yamasee bluff, between Purysburgh and Savannah. To aid in the enterprise, forty militia were ordered to pass down by land, and take possession of a house opposite the enemy, in order to commence the attack at day-light the next morning. The militia got possession of the house in due time, but the gallies got aground, and could not take their stations until nine o'clock, A. M. when the firing was opened on the British gallies, by land and water: the Thunderer British galley, commanded by lieutenant Terrill, advanced to the assistance of the other two, dislodged the militia and compelled them to retreat. After an hour's conflict, the enemy manned their boats with the intention to board: the Americans knowing what would be the result, from the enemy's superior force, took to their boats, and as many as could be accommodated, escaped. Captain Campbell and three Americans were killed, six wounded, and ten were made prisoners. The British lost one killed, and one wounded. The Congress galley had a crew of seventy men, and the Lee galley thirty-four.

General Lincoln was deserted by numbers of the militia; nearly one hundred had gone off in a few days, mostly to the enemy.

By arrivals from New-York, the British force in Georgia was increased to five thousand men, exclusive of re-enforcements from St. Augustine, parties of loyalists and Indian allies. The term of service for which the North-Carolina militia had been drafted, was on the eve of expiring, without any immediate prospect of those arriving who were to replace them.

Several of the inhabitants of Georgia, who had left their fami-

lies, represented to general Lincoln, that all their property had been plundered and destroyed by the enemy, and desired him to point out to them any possible mean, by which their families could be secured against the want of subsistence. They expressed their willingness to yield to the loss of property and every other privation, if their wives and families could be secured in the necessaries of life; but that they should be left to suffer by the want of food, and under the continued insolence of their enemy, was rather more than their feelings could be expected to endure. The general consented that such men as had families, should return to their homes, take protection, and remain quiet until some change should take place.

The embarrassments arising from two heads to the same army, were again to be experienced. On the 5th of April, the governor of South-Carolina ordered general Williamson with his brigade, to march into the western parts of Georgia, and take advantage of every favourable opportunity of harassing or annoying the enemy, and to distress them to the utmost of his power; to send parties to destroy all the cattle, horses, provisions and carriages they could meet with in that state. This was in direct opposition to the conditions entered into by general Lincoln, that they should remain quiet, until he was able to afford them protection, by marching an army into their country. This procedure on the part of the governor, had like to have produced a wound in the breast of the general, which would have been difficult to heal. General Moultrie foresaw the necessity of an immediate interference; and with all that military wisdom and candour, for which he was so much esteemed, remonstrated to the governor against his interfering with the command of the army. Governor Rutledge was duly impressed with the propriety of the general's reasoning; and on all future occasions, issued his orders to the militia, with caution and delicacy.

Some of the Georgia prisoners, who were exchanged for a like number sent from Charleston, were so much emaciated when they arrived in camp, that they were obliged to be car-

ried from the boats, in which they were brought from the prison-ships. They complained highly of the ill-treatment which they had experienced on board these filthy floating dungeons, of which their countenances and emaciated bodies exhibited condemning testimony. They asserted that they had been subsisted on condemned pork, which nauseated the stomach, and oat meal so rotten, that swine would not have fed on it; that the staff officers, and the members of council from Savannah, shared in common with the soldiery; even the venerable Bryan was obliged to partake such repasts, or die of hunger. The Jews of Savannah were generally favourable to the American cause, and among this persuasion, was Mordecai Sheftall, commissary-general, and his son, who was his deputy: they were confined in common with the other prisoners, and by way of contempt to their offices and religion, condemned pork given them for the animal part of their subsistence. In consequence of such food, and other new devices of mal-treatment, five or six died daily; whose bodies were conveyed from the prison-ships to the nearest marsh and trodden in the mud; from whence they were soon exposed by the washing of the tides, and at low water, the prisoners beheld the carrion-crows picking the bones of their departed companions.

General Lincoln's remonstrances to Sir Hyde Parker, against such inhuman conduct to prisoners, were disregarded: the flinty heart of Sir Hyde was not the abiding place of humane feelings, it was a laboratory where a savage might refine his cruelties, and free them from such dross.

About the end of March, it was ascertained that the British were supplying their shipping, in Savannah harbour, with provisions and water, and that general Provost was re-calling detachments from his advanced posts on the river; by which it was conjectured, that they intended to evacuate Savannah, and leave the coast of Georgia.

General Lincoln removed his quarters to Black swamp, and having received the expected re-enforcement from North-

Carolina, consisting of seven hundred men, commanded by general Sumner, determined to adopt some plan of active operations for the recovery of Georgia; for which purpose, he called a council of his general officers on the 19th of April, 1779; consisting of brigadiers Moultrie, Huger, and Sumner. The general stated to the council, that the troops then at headquarters, seven hundred from North-Carolina, five hundred at Orangeburgh, and those with general Williamson near Augusta, amounted to five thousand men; and desired their opinion on the following plan of operation: to leave one thousand men at Purysburgh and Black swamp, to watch the passes on the river; assemble the remainder near Augusta, pass the Savannah river into Georgia, take some strong ground, and prevent if possible, the enemy receiving supplies from the back settlements; narrow their limits, prevent the loyalists and savages from Georgia and South-Carolina from joining them. After mature deliberation, the council were unanimously of opinion, that the measures proposed were advisable, and ought to be adopted.

One thousand men were placed under the orders of general Moultrie, for the defence of Purysburgh and the passes over Savannah river; and on the 20th of April, general Lincoln with two thousand men, continental infantry, cavalry, and militia, marched for Augusta, followed by his baggage and artillery.

General Moultrie was ordered to hold possession of the passes, particularly Purysburgh, as long as possible; and if the enemy should attempt to force their way toward Charleston, he was to retreat before them, and use every possible mean to retard their march, to skirmish with their front, and destroy the boats and bridges on the way; to advise general Lincoln of every occurrence, and to request the governor of South-Carolina, to put Charleston into the best state of defence, that time and circumstances would admit. General Moultrie was informed, that if circumstances required it, general Lincoln would advance with the troops under his immediate command, on the rear of the enemy, at the first notice from Moultrie that such a movement was necessary.

General Lincoln appears to have contemplated some advantages over the enemy, by inducing general Provost to divide his force; by advancing a part of them against the American army, in Georgia, or by a diversion into Carolina: in the latter event, he expected that Moultrie would be re-enforced by such numbers, as to enable him to hold the enemy sufficiently in check, and render the efforts to be made in Georgia, more certain in their result.

On the 23d of April, a party of about forty Indians, and white men painted like Indians, passed over the river at Yamasee, four miles below Purysburgh, and attempted to surprise the guard: they were pursued, but escaped into the swamp. On the 25th, general Moultrie received intelligence that the enemy was in motion, and that some parties of them had passed over into South-Carolina, below the town of Savannah: he ordered lieutenant-colonel Henderson to retreat with his command from Purysburgh to Coosawhatchie, and two days afterward, a party of the British passed over from Abercorn to Purysburgh, and attempted to surprise Moultrie at Black swamp. Moultrie filed off toward Charleston for the purpose of keeping in the enemy's front, and sent an express to general Lincoln to apprise him of their movements, and his intentions to harass and retard their progress, until he received re-enforcements. General Provost's army consisted of two thousand chosen troops, and seven hundred loyalists and Indians; and Moultrie to oppose him, had one thousand militia, and instead of his numbers increasing, his troops wasted away by desertion, and when he had retreated to Ashley river ferry, he had only six hundred men.

Lincoln imagined that Provost only intended a feint on Charleston, to divert him from his purpose toward Savannah; continued his march on the south side of the Savannah river, and sent three hundred light troops and the legion of Pulaski, which had been stationed at the ridge, forty-five miles north-east from Augusta, to re-enforce Moultrie.

Every advantageous pass was disputed with the enemy; and so effectually retarded their progress, by frequent skirmishes, that they did not reach Charleston until the 11th of May.

When Provost appeared before Charleston, he made the apparent disposition for a siege, and demanded a surrender. Calculating that Lincoln was in pursuit of the enemy, it was deemed important to gain time. The re-enforcement sent by general Lincoln, and the legion of Pulaski, had arrived; and the greatest exertions were used to place the town in a state of defence. Twenty-four hours were spent in negotiations, which terminated in bidding the enemy defiance. Having failed in his expectations, and fearing that general Lincoln would fall upon his rear; general Provost retreated precipitately over Ashley ferry, and formed a fortified encampment on Stono river, within reach of some small armed vessels and transports, by which he could secure a retreat toward Savannah, if he should be pressed by a force with which he was unable to contend. He collected all the boats which fell in his way, to facilitate the transportation of his troops from one island to another, or through the inland navigation, as might be advisable.

When Lincoln arrived at Ashley river, he was doubtful of the issue of a general engagement with the enemy; for although he was superior to his antagonist in numbers, he was far inferior in the quality of his troops and equipments, and was aware of the certain consequences of a defeat. It was therefore necessary for him to proceed with caution and not risk a battle, if the result appeared the least doubtful. He was apprehensive of the consequences of drawing his forces to one point, for a general attack, and leaving Charleston unprotected; and to prevent the enemy from retreating by land to Savannah, he was obliged to guard the passes by strong detachments. Thus situated, the two armies lay within thirty miles distance, for forty days, watching the motions of each other.

The British army was encamped on John's island, near Stono ferry; and to preserve a communication with the main land,

they had constructed some redoubts, and lines of communication, on which some field artillery was advantageously placed, with an abatis in front, on the main land at the ferry, and placed a garrison of eight hundred men to defend it, under lieutenant-colonel Maitland. In the event of its being attacked, the main encampment was sufficiently near to afford re-enforcements.

At length, on the 20th of June, an attack was made on the redoubts at the ferry. General Moultrie, with a body of the Charleston militia, was to have made a feint on the British encampment, from James's island; but from the difficulty of procuring boats, he was unable to reach the place of destination in time to make the diversion required. When the Americans advanced to the attack, two companies of the 71st regiment of Scots, sallied to support the piquets: lieutenant-colonel Henderson with the light infantry charged them, and only nine of their number returned within their intrenchments. All the men at the field pieces, between their redoubts, were killed or wounded. Major Handley, who commanded the remnant of the Georgia continental troops, was attached to colonel Malmady's command, and carried that part of the British works against which they acted. The failure of general Moultrie, in the diversion assigned to him, enabled general Provost to re-enforce the redoubts, and made it necessary for general Lincoln to withdraw his troops; a general sortie was made on the retiring Americans; but the light infantry, commanded by Malmady and Henderson, held the enemy in check, and enabled the Americans to remove their wounded, and retire in good order.

Soon after the action at Stono, the British commenced their retreat, and passed from island to island, until they arrived at Port-Royal, where Provost established a post with eight hundred men, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Maitland, and thence returned to Savannah.

While general Lincoln was employed against Provost, in South-Carolina; colonels Dooley and Clarke were active in defending the frontiers of Georgia, against Indian incursions;

and colonels Twiggs, Few, and Jones, were watching the British out-posts, to cut off supplies of provisions from the country. Private armed vessels, in the American service, were also employed along the sea-coast.

On the 4th of June, a party of British officers were engaged to dine with Mr. Thomas Young, at Belfast, on the river Medway, to celebrate the king's birth day: captain Spencer, who commanded an American privateer, got intelligence of the intended feast, and prepared to surprise them. He proceeded up the river in the evening, and landed with twelve men, and between eight and nine o'clock at night Spencer entered the house, and made colonel Cruger and the party of officers, prisoners of war. As Spencer intended to carry off some negroes, he kept his prisoners under a guard until the morning, when he received their paroles, and permitted them to return to Sunbury. Colonel Cruger was soon after exchanged for colonel John M'Intosh, who had been taken prisoner at Brier creek.

Colonel Twiggs, with seventy men, marched down Ogechee river, on the south side, to the plantation of James Butler, called Hickory hill, where he halted. On the 28th of June, he was informed that a party of forty mounted grenadiers, and three militia guides, under the command of captain Muller, were advancing to attack him. Major Cooper, of Marbury's dragoons, and captain Inman, with about thirty men, advanced to meet them, and formed across a rice dam on which Muller was advancing, and threw some brush-wood in their front, to serve as an abatis: the first fire was well directed, and several of the British fell from their horses; captain Muller ordered his men to dismount and form; but under the circumstances of a galling fire, they were unable to effect it. Though Muller was shot through the thigh, he supported himself on his sword, and persisted in vain efforts to form his men, until he received another ball, which passed through his arm into his body. The Americans took advantage of a rice dam, which covered them from the fire of the enemy. Lieutenant Swanson, the second

officer of the British detachment, was also wounded and fell. Twiggs observing the confusion occasioned in the ranks of the enemy, by the fall of their officers, ordered ten men to gain their rear and cut off their retreat, which was effected, and none of the detachment escaped, except the three militia guides, who ran away on the first fire. Of the British, seven were killed, ten wounded, and the remainder taken prisoners. Of the Americans, colonel Maybank, who was a volunteer, and captain Whitaker, were wounded.

The situation of the wounded required the assistance of a surgeon, and Savannah being the nearest place where one could be obtained; William Myddleton offered his services to carry a flag for that purpose. Captain Muller died before the surgeon's arrival. While Myddleton was in Provost's quarters, a British officer requested him to narrate the circumstances attending the skirmish; after he had given the particulars, the officer observed, that "if an angel was to tell him that captain Muller, who had served twenty-one years in the king's guards, with his detachment, had been defeated by an equal number of rebels, he would disbelieve it." Myddleton requested the officer's address, and observed that they were not then on equal terms, but hoped to have it in his power at a future time, to call him to an account for his rudeness. Colonel Provost rebuked the officer for using such improper language to the bearer of a flag: the officer retired.

On the morning of the 28th, major Baker proceeded toward Sunbury with thirty men, and attacked and defeated a party under command of captain Goldsmith, at the White-house; several of the enemy were killed and wounded; among the former, was lieutenant Gray, whose head was almost severed from the body by a cut from the sabre of Robert Sallet. Baker marched to Sunbury, which he entered without opposition.

The detachment which was defeated by Baker, at the White-house, were mounted recruits, enlisted for two years, under the denomination of Georgia royalists, to be commanded by James Wright, jun. so soon as the regiment was completed.

About the 25th of July, Sir James Wright returned from England and resumed the government of Georgia, but he did not remain long in the quiet administration of his government.

The property of those, who resided in the eastern part of Georgia, and adhered to the cause of their country, was either plundered by the British troops and loyalists for private account, or taken into possession by the commissioners of sequestration for the king's use. All believed that they were to remain in the undisturbed enjoyment of their acquirements, by pillage and possession of that which had been abandoned by the American owners and left among them. The Americans made frequent incursions in small parties, for the recovery of part of their property; and when a man succeeded in carrying away that which was his own, he was denominated a thief by the adherents of the royal government. Under such circumstances, it is not matter of wonder that the Americans resorted to measures of retaliation, as a means of indemnity.

On the 3d of August, captain Samuel Spencer sailed into Sapelo sound, and one of the enemy's vessels, of six guns, ran down and attacked him. The engagement was well supported for fifteen minutes, when the enemy was boarded and surrendered. Spencer had one man wounded: the British, one killed, five wounded, and twelve were made prisoners. Spencer divided his crew, and collected a number of negroes and other property, which he carried in safety to the owners, who had fled to Carolina. The prisoners were paroled and landed on Sapelo island.

About this time, some Indians and loyalists from the Creek nation, arrived at Savannah, and were employed on the borders of South-Carolina, with instructions, not to kill the women and children; they returned in two days with five scalps, and three female prisoners, who were delivered to colonel Brown, at Ebenezer, as trophies of their valour: Brown rewarded them for their services. This was merciful warfare, when compared with that which was practised by the savages, under British

agents, on the frontier settlements. That mode of hostility was warmly remonstrated against by general Lincoln, but without effect.

M'Girth and his party, having no field for the exercise of their avocations in the eastern, turned their views to the western settlements, and made their excursions to obtain property by pillage. Colonel Twiggs assembled one hundred and fifty militia horsemen, for the purpose of attacking them, and marched on the pursuit. Twiggs selected from his party, those who were best mounted, and advanced with them in front: they found M'Girth with thirty or forty men, at Isaac Lockhart's, on Buck-head creek, and advanced to the attack. The skirmish continued about fifteen minutes, without much effect. Twiggs ordered the charge; on which M'Girth made his escape into a neighbouring swamp, by the fleetness of his horse. In the retreat, nine of the enemy were killed, nine wounded, and four taken prisoners; among the latter, was lieutenant Morris, the second officer in command. Among the wounded, was M'Girth, by a ball passing through his thigh. Twiggs had one private killed, and a captain wounded.

CHAPTER IX.

AFTER the declaration of Independence, the attention of congress was directed to negotiations with the nations of Europe, generally, to obtain their friendship and alliance, and with France particularly; believing that from the latter power something favourable was to be expected. France had long been jealous of the growing power of England. The increasing population and industry of the British North-American colonies, daily augmented the power of Britain, and the consequent jealousy of France; and the colonies having now declared independence, it was hoped by congress that France would take the advantage of the occasion, apply her power, and make the separation complete. Under such impressions, congress appointed Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, commissioners plenipotentiary, to repair to the French court and negotiate; and by every mean in their power, endeavour to induce the king of France to enter into a treaty of friendship and alliance with the United-States.

The American commissioners repaired to France, and were received with civility by Monsieur De Vergennes, the French premier. Secret facilities were afforded to the states; but the idea of a public acknowledgement, or of military aids, was discouraged. The existing policy of the French government was to remain at peace.

Franklin, who understood the avenues to the human heart and to the springs of action of the French court, made his address to the queen, and became a favourite with her party. At length the policy of the king's ministers was changed; and the independence of the United-States was acknowledged by France. This was followed by a treaty of amity and commerce, between France and the United-States, dated the 6th of February, 1778; on terms highly honourable to the former, and advantageous to the latter, in which no advantages were taken by France over the necessities and weakness of the United-States. The treaty

of amity and commerce was accompanied by a treaty of alliance, eventual and defensive.

When the French ambassador at the court of London, announced that France had acknowledged the independence of the United-States, and entered into a treaty of amity and commerce with them, England considered it as an act of hostility and declared war. The apprehensions of England were increased, and new efforts were made to recover her colonies.

Lord Carlisle, William Eden, and governor Johnstone, were appointed commissioners on the part of Great-Britain, and sent to America, with offers to relinquish the right of taxation, by the British parliament, and to confirm the colonies in every immunity consistent with a union of force. If these propositions had been made in due season, they would have been well received; but experience of the unjust pretensions of the English government, over the American colonies; the cruelties and violence committed on their citizens, through all the ramifications of its power in America, which had generated resentments not easily appeased; the recent alliance with France, and there being no acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, in the propositions for an accommodation; congress rejected them with contempt.

France having made positive the treaty of alliance, eventual and defensive, became a party in the war. A fleet was fitted out, and an army sent to the West-Indies, under the orders of the count D'Estaing: they made the conquest of the islands of St. Vincent and Grenada, and retired to Cape Francois.

The recovery of Georgia was important, and no time was lost in soliciting the co-operation of the French fleet and army in the West-Indies, to obtain that object. This invitation coincided with the instructions which the count had received from his government, and he cheerfully offered his services, to act in concert with the forces of the United-States, wherever they might be required, and promise advantage to the cause of either.

General Lincoln made every exertion to collect an army, and

was sanguine in his hopes of success, in the execution of the concerted plan. The 11th of September was the time appointed for the rendezvous of the two armies at Savannah, and preparations were made to invest the place. General Lincoln assembled the continental troops, and required the militia of South-Carolina and Georgia to take the field, and march toward Savannah. The scarcity of arms and ammunition, in the western parts of those states, made it necessary to furnish them from the arsenals and magazines of South-Carolina, and a detachment of the Georgia continental troops, commanded by general Lachland M'Intosh, was ordered to take charge of them and march to Augusta.

The French fleet sailed from Cape Francois, on the 20th of August, by the windward passage. Count D'Estaing despatched two ships of the line and three frigates to Charleston, to communicate his intentions and concert a plan of operations with the American general. On the 3rd of September, the despatched ships were discovered by the British, off Tybee light, and the next day major-general the viscount De Fontanges, arrived at Charleston with dispatches for general Lincoln; informing him that the French fleet was then off Savannah bar, and consisted of twenty-one ships of the line, two of fifty guns, eight frigates, and five small armed vessels, having on board five thousand men, including land troops, marines, and seamen, and that the fleet and army were ready to co-operate with him in the reduction of Savannah: at the same time, urged the necessity for despatch, as he could not remain long on the coast, at that season of the year. A number of boats were sent to the French fleet to assist in landing the troops, cannon, and stores.

Colonel Cambray, of engineers, and major Thomas Pinckney, aid to general Lincoln, were ordered to accompany the viscount De Fontanges and concert with count D'Estaing the plan of operation against Savannah.

The militia took the field with alacrity, supposing that nothing further would be necessary, than to march to Savannah and

demand a surrender. Colonel Maitland with eight hundred men, retained his position at Beaufort, and general Lincoln had fixed his quarters at Sheldon, to prevent them from spreading into the country to obtain provisions: thus occupied, general Lincoln could not march to Savannah until the French troops were ready to land.

General Provost could not mistake the object of the combined forces. He re-called his detachments from the advanced posts: he ordered lieutenant-colonel Cruger to evacuate Sunbury, to embark the sick and invalids in the small armed vessels, and send them by the inland navigation to Savannah, under the care of captain French, and to march with the land troops to Savannah, without loss of time. Captain French did not reach Savannah: by the prevalence of head winds, he was detained until the French ships were in possession of the pass; he then sailed up Ogeechee river, and finding the land passage was occupied by the Americans, he landed and fortified his camp, about fifteen miles south from Savannah: in front of it he placed four armed vessels, one of fourteen guns, and three of four guns each, manned by forty seamen; his land force was one hundred and eleven regular troops, generally invalids, and one hundred and thirty stand of small arms.

After the British troops obtained possession of Savannah, they progressed at leisure with the repairs of four old redoubts and the construction of some new works; but the probability of an attack in force, rendered the greatest exertions necessary to complete their fortifications. Captain Moncrief, the chief of the engineers, an officer of superior talents in his department, called on governor Wright to order three hundred negroes from the country, with such as were in town, to his assistance on the fortifications. Thirteen redoubts, and fifteen batteries, with lines of communication, were marked out, commenced, and completed, with an abatis in front, and mounted with seventy-six pieces of cannon; of six, nine, twelve, and eighteen pounds calibre. The guns and batteries were manned by the seamen

from the ships of war, transports, and merchant vessels, in the harbour. A number of field pieces were placed in reserve, on the most advantageous positions to traverse, or move speedily to any given point. And intrenchments were opened to cover the reserves.

On the 4th of September orders were despatched to lieutenant-colonel Maitland at Beaufort, to hold his detachment in readiness to march to Savannah at short notice; and as it was probable that part of the French frigates might go into Port-Royal bay and cut off the communication with Beaufort, Maitland was ordered to evacuate the post, and cross over to Tench's island, of which Hilton-head is a promontary; from whence if he was not stopped by a further order, he was to proceed to Savannah. The officer who was charged with the despatch, was taken by a party of Americans, as he was passing through Scull creek.

On the evening of the 4th the French fleet disappeared, which occasioned doubts with general Provost, as to its real object; consequently, the orders sent to Maitland were countermanded by another, directing him to remain at his post, in readiness to march at short notice, with his heavy baggage and other incumbrances embarked; and if through any other channel he should receive intelligence, which should in his judgment induce the measure, he was ordered to march immediately, without further orders, and to run no risk, which could possibly be avoided, of being cut off from Savannah.

On the 6th, the French fleet re-appeared off the bar. Provost deemed it necessary to strengthen the works on Tybee island, and increase the number of men for their defence. Captain Moncrief was ordered to perform that duty, and with one hundred infantry re-enforce that post. Orders were forwarded to Maitland, to march without loss of time. Finding the fleet increased to a formidable number, Provost assigned his alarm-posts, and made every disposition to sustain an attack.

On the 9th the whole fleet anchored off Tybee island, and landed some troops on the south-east side of it, to attack the

British post on the rear, and four light frigates passed over the bar. Finding the position on Tybee too hazardous to be maintained, Moncrief spiked the guns, embarked the troops, and retreated to Savannah. The ships Foway, Rose, Kepple, and Germain; the Comet galley and some other small vessels, weighed anchor and stood up to Five-fathom-hole.

After general Provost had retreated from South-Carolina, the command of the American cavalry had been confided to count Pulaski, who had taken post on the ridge, fifty miles north-east from Augusta, for the convenience of obtaining forage and provisions, and to be within easy march of Charleston or Augusta, as occasion might require. Pulaski was ordered to join general M'Intosh at Augusta, and M'Intosh was ordered to march with the infantry and cavalry, toward Savannah, in advance of the army under general Lincoln; to attack the British out-posts, and open a communication with the French troops upon the sea shore.

General M'Intosh pressed forward on Savannah, and before the enemy was apprized of his approach, Pulaski cut off one of their piquets; killed and wounded five men, and captured a subaltern and five privates: he opened the communication to the sea shore, and general M'Intosh advanced toward Ogechee ferry. They had several skirmishes with the enemy's out-posts, before they joined the French troops at Beaulieu.

So soon as a body of the French troops had landed, general M'Intosh returned, and halted at Millen's plantation, three miles from Savannah, to wait the arrival of general Lincoln.

On the 10th of September, lieutenant-colonel Cruger, with his detachment from Sunbury, reached Savannah. On the 11th, the British landed all the cannon from the armed vessels, except such as were deemed necessary to defend the channel, and mounted them on the batteries. The engineers were making every possible exertion to strengthen the works: twelve hundred white men and negroes, were constantly employed; several new redoubts and batteries were constructed; the moats deepened, and the abatis strengthened.

On the 12th, in the evening, some small French vessels passed the bars into Oseba and Warsaw sounds, and landed some troops at Beaulieu and Thunderbolt, without opposition: the 13th, 14th, and 15th were spent in landing troops, artillery, ammunition, provisions, and intrenching tools: and on the 16th, count D'Estaing advanced within three miles of the town, and demanded a surrender.

"Count D'Estaing summons his excellency, general Provost, to surrender to the arms of the king of France. He apprizes him, that he will be personally responsible for all the events and misfortunes that may arise from a defence, which by the superiority of the force, which attacks him, both by sea and land, is rendered manifestly vain and of no effect.

"He gives notice to him, also, that any resolutions he may venture to come to, either before the attack, in the course of it, or at the moment of the assault, of setting fire to the shipping and small craft belonging to the army, or the merchants in the river Savannah, as well as to all the magazines in the town, will be imputable to him only.

"The situation of Hospital-hill, in the Grenadas, the strength of the three intrenchments and stone redoubts which defended it, and the comparative disposition of the troops before the town of Savannah, with the single detachment which carried the Grenadas by assault, should be a lesson to futurity. Humanity obliges the count D'Estaing to recall this event to his memory; having so done, he has nothing to reproach himself with.

"Lord Macartney had the good fortune to escape from the first transport of troops, who entered a town sword in hand; but notwithstanding the most valuable effects were deposited in a place, supposed by all the officers and engineers to be impregnable, count D'Estaing could not have the happiness of preventing their being pillaged.

"Camp before Savannah, September 16, 1779.

D'ESTAING."

MAJOR-GENERAL PROVOST'S ANSWER.

"Savannah, September 16, 1779.

"SIR—I am now honoured with your excellency's letter, of this date, containing a summon for me to surrender this town to the arms of his majesty the king of France, which I had just delayed to answer, till I had shown it to the king's civil governor.

"I hope your excellency will have a better opinion of me, and of British troops, than to think either will surrender on general summons, without any specific terms.

"If you, Sir, have any to propose, that may with honour be accepted of by me, you can mention them, both with regard to civil and military, and I will then give my answer: in the mean time I will promise upon my honour, that nothing with my knowledge or consent shall be destroyed in either this town or river. I have the honour to be, &c.

A. PROVOST."

COUNT D'ESTAING TO GENERAL PROVOST.

"Camp before Savannah, September 16, 1779.

"SIR—I have just received your excellency's answer, to the letter I had the honour of writing to you this morning. You are sensible that it is the part of the besieged to propose such terms as they may desire, and you can not doubt of the satisfaction I shall have in consenting to those which I can accept consistently with my duty.

"I am informed that you continue intrenching yourself, which is a matter of very little importance to me; however, for form sake, I must desire you will desist during our conferences.

"The different columns which I had ordered to stop will continue their march, but without approaching your posts, or reconnoitring your situation. I have the honour to be, &c.

D'ESTAING."

"P. S. I apprise your excellency that I have not been able

to refuse the army of the United-States uniting itself with that of the king. The junction will probably be effected this day. If I have not an answer immediately, you must confer in future with general Lincoln and myself."

GENERAL PROVOST TO COUNT D'ESTAING.

"Savannah, September 16, 1779.

"SIR—I am honoured with your excellency's letter in reply to mine of this day.

"The business we have on hand being of importance, there being various interests to discuss, a just time is absolutely necessary to deliberate. I am therefore to propose, that a suspension of hostilities shall take place for twenty-four hours from this date, and to request that your excellency will direct your columns to fall back to a greater distance, and out of sight of our works, or I shall think myself under a necessity to direct their being fired upon. If they did not reconnoitre any thing this afternoon, they were sure within the distance. I have the honour to be, &c.

A. PROVOST."

COUNT D'ESTAING TO GENERAL PROVOST.

"Camp before Savannah, September 16, 1779.

"SIR—I consent to the truce you ask: it shall continue till the signal for retreat to-morrow night the 17th, which will serve also to announce the re-commencement of hostilities. It is necessary to observe to your excellency, that this suspension of arms is entirely in your favour, since I cannot be certain that you will not make use of it to fortify yourself, at the same time, that the propositions you shall make may be inadmissible.

"I must observe to you, also, how important it is that you should be fully aware of your own situation, as well as that of the troops under your command. Be assured that I am thoroughly acquainted with it. Your knowledge of military affairs will not suffer you to be ignorant, that a due examination of that circumstance always precedes the march of the columns,

and that this preliminary is not carried into execution by a mere show of troops.

“I have ordered them to withdraw before night comes on, to prevent any cause of complaint on your part. I understand that my civility in this respect has been the occasion that the Chevalier De Cambis, a lieutenant of the navy, has been made a prisoner of war.

“I propose sending out some small advance posts to-morrow morning: they will place themselves in such a situation as to have in view the four entrances into the wood, in order to prevent a similar mistake in future. I do not know whether two columns commanded by the viscount De Noailles and the count De Dillon, have shewn too much ardour, or whether your cannoniers have not paid a proper respect to the truce, subsisting between us; but this I know, that what has happened this night, is a proof that matters will soon come to a decision between us one way or another. I have the honour to be, &c.

D’ESTAING.”

General Lincoln’s army reached the Savannah river on the 12th, but the difficulty in procuring boats took up two days in crossing the river and swamp, which were three miles wide. Having effected it at Zubley’s ferry, on the morning of the 15th, he marched to Cherokee hill, about eight miles above the town, where he was joined by general M’Intosh, with the Georgia continental troops, and by colonels John Twiggs and B. Few, with part of their regiments of militia. The next morning general Lincoln marched to Millen’s plantation, three miles from the town on the Ogeechee road where he established his headquarters, and proceeded directly to pay his respects to the count D’Estaing, and fix on the plan of future operations. The count suggested, that necessity had compelled him to offer the services of his king to the United-States at this unpropitious season of the year, where it would be unsafe to hazard the fleet long upon the coast, in consequence of the hurricanes with which it had

usually been visited, and that these circumstances had rendered it necessary for him to lose no time in summoning the commander of the British troops in Savannah to surrender.

The answer to this summon had not yet been received from general Provost, and the count expressed gratification that general Lincoln had arrived in time to unite with him in the terms of capitulation, in case the enemy should surrender, of which he entertained but little doubt.

General Provost exercised great military judgment, in soliciting twenty-four hours for consideration, because he calculated with great certainty that within that time, colonel Maitland would arrive with eight hundred troops from Beaufort. There is but little doubt, that on this event rested all his hopes of saving the garrison. When the fleet first appeared off the coast, the enemy had but twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted upon the redoubts and batteries, to defend an extent by land and water of near three miles. It appears that the count D'Estaing was not well informed, as to the geography of the country, or he certainly would have ordered the frigates to take their stations farther up the river, so as to have commanded the inland passage from Carolina and cut off the communication. If general Lincoln was acquainted with the advantages which the enemy could take of this circumstance, he probably thought it unnecessary to communicate it to the count, having sent him a number of pilots who were acquainted with the coast and inland communications; consequently, thought any additional information unnecessary.

On the evening of the 16th, colonel Maitland arrived at Dawfuskie, and finding the passage up the river in possession of the French, he was obliged to resort to some other way of getting into the town. While he was embarrassed in this difficulty, fortune threw into his hands some negro fishermen, who were well acquainted with all the creeks through the marsh, and informed him of a passage called Wall's cut, through Scull creek, by which small boats could pass at high water. The tide and a

thick fog favoured the execution of his plans, and enabled him with great difficulty to get through: on the ensuing afternoon he reached the town, unperceived by the French. The acquisition of this formidable re-enforcement, headed by an experienced and brave officer, effected a complete change in the dispirited garrison. A signal was made and three cheers given, which rung from one end of the town to the other. In the afternoon the following letter was addressed by general Provost, to the count D'Estaing.

"Savannah, September 17, 1779.

"SIR—In answer to the letter of your excellency, which I had the honour to receive about twelve last night, I am to acquaint you, that having laid the whole correspondence before the king's civil governor, and the military officers of rank, assembled in council of war, the unanimous determination has been, that though we cannot look upon our post as inexpugnable, yet that it may and ought to be defended: therefore the evening gun to be fired this evening, at an hour before sun down, shall be the signal for re-commencing hostilities, agreeably to your excellency's proposal. I have the honour to be, &c.

A. PROVOST."

The assistance of the negroes, who had been collected from the country, contributed greatly to hasten the preparation for defence: those people having been accustomed to the use of the hoe and spade, in the cultivation of rice, and possessing constitutions adapted to the climate, were constantly employed in the ditches. The soil was also favourable to the enemy, being composed entirely of light sand.

The disappointment occasioned by a compliance with the propositions of Provost, and losing the golden opportunity by delay, was a source of severe mortification and chagrin to the combined army. The favourable moment for reducing the fortress by assault, had been suffered to pass away unimproved,

under the practice of deceptive pretexts. Though every exertion had been made to bring up the cannon and mortars from the sea coast, none had yet arrived, except some light pieces of field artillery. The British works, which had been commenced with great skill, were rapidly progressing to maturity, and there was no mean of retarding them, by offering the enemy any other employment. Some intelligent British officers, who were within the works, acknowledge that the French army alone, could have taken the town in ten minutes, without the assistance of artillery, or loss of much blood, if the assault had been made at the first moment. It appears that the necessary information was not given to the count D'Estaing, to afford him a correct knowledge of the country; and it was therefore impossible for him to foresee the advantages he was giving to the enemy by delay. He had no idea that there was any pass to Savannah by water, except the main river, which he considered as being secured by his light frigates, lying in the channel.

All hopes of taking the town by assault, were extinguished, and the tedious operations attendant on regular approaches, were the only resort which promised success. This was what the enemy wished. The principal engineer had declared, that if the allied army would once resort to the spade, he would pledge himself for the success of the defence. The French frigates moved up within gun shot of the town, and compelled the British armed vessels to take shelter under the battery. To prevent these frigates from coming so near as to aid the operations by land, the ships *Rose*, *Savannah*, and four transports, were sunk in a narrow part of the channel, three miles distant from the town. Some small crafts were also sunk above the town, and a boom stretched across the channel, to prevent the gallies which passed up the north river, round Hutchinson's island, from assailing them in that direction. One of the frigates and two gallies anchored near the wrecks; but to no purpose, at so great a distance. The enemy's guns mounted upon batteries, forty feet above the surface of the water, soon compelled the frigate and gallies to retire.

The regular approaches were continued from the south on the enemy's left, covered by batteries in the rear, upon which such heavy cannon and mortars were mounted, as had been brought up from the fleet. On the 20th, the besieged commenced several new batteries and destroyed the houses on the flanks. The sloop of war *Germain*, and the gallies *Thunderer* and *Comet*, were anchored above the town, to rake the flank and cover the boom. There was a range of barracks about three hundred yards distant from and fronting the town, upon the south side. One hundred yards in front of these barracks, the besiegers erected a battery, and mounted seven guns upon it. In the mean time, the besieged unroofed the barracks, filled them with sand, and converted them into a breast work. On the 22nd, the allied army threw up a bank in front, and formed their encampment about one thousand yards from the works of the besieged.

During the night of the 24th, both armies were hard at work. By the time the fog cleared off in the morning, the besiegers had carried their saps within three hundred yards of the enemy's abatis. About nine o'clock, major Graham with one hundred British troops, made a sortie, and for a few minutes had possession of one of the saps. Two columns of the French advanced and attempted to gain Graham's rear, who did not retreat until the columns were drawn so far on as to be much exposed to the fire from the enemy's batteries, which played upon them with such effect, that they were compelled to retreat; consequently, their loss was much greater than that of the British. The loss of the former was forty-eight killed and wounded, and of the latter twenty-one. The firing was continued the whole of the next day, to impede as much as possible the progress of each other. On the night of the 27th, major Archibald M'Arthur, with a detachment of the 71st regiment, made a sortie to attack the allies in some batteries which they were constructing to mount some heavy cannon: after commencing the attack briskly, he retired unperceived: the French attempted to gain his left flank, and the Americans his right. M'Arthur retired so sud-

denly and silently, that the right and left of the allies commenced a brisk fire upon each other, and several lives were lost before the mistake was discovered. On the 28th, the French frigate *La Truite*, moved up and anchored in the north channel, from whence she threw several shot into the town, but the ground was so high, that it answered but little purpose at so great a distance. On the 29th, general M'Intosh solicited general Lincoln's permission to send a flag with a letter to general Provost, to obtain leave for Mrs. M'Intosh and his family, and such other females and children as might choose to leave the town during the siege, or until the contest should be decided. Major John Jones, aid to general M'Intosh, was the bearer of the flag and letter, and found Mrs. M'Intosh and family in a cellar, where they had been confined several days. Indeed those damp apartments furnished the only safe retreat, for females and children, during the siege. General Provost refused to grant the request, imagining that it would restrain the besiegers from throwing bombs and carcasses among the houses to set them on fire.

On the night of the 1st of October, colonel John White with captains George Melvin, A. C. G. Elholm, a sergeant, and three privates, proceeded to reconnoitre the position of captain French, who had been cut off from Savannah, and fortified his camp on Ogeechee river. Colonel White directed a number of fires to be lighted up in view of the camp, which gave an appearance that a large force was there, and summoned French to surrender; which was agreed to: captain French and one hundred and eleven regular troops, with one hundred and thirty stand of small arms, and five vessels, with their crews, four of which were armed, were obtained by the stratagem.

On the 2nd, the French frigate in the north river, and two American gallies, kept up a heavy cannonade upon the east end of the town, which compelled the enemy to throw up a new battery on their left, and strengthen their works on the south-east, to keep the sap in check; supposing if there was an assault

made, it would be from that quarter. The next night the combined force threw in a great number of ten inch shells, and the besieged fired a number of shot from an eighteen gun battery, erected on their left, near the barracks. At daylight on the morning of the 4th, the combined armies opened upon the besieged with nine mortars and thirty-seven pieces of cannon from the land, and sixteen cannon on the water, which was continued during the day; but the effects were only felt by the people of the town. On the 6th, several carcasses were thrown into the town, one of which took effect and burned a house. About eleven o'clock, a parley was beaten, and the following letter was written by Provost to the commander of the French army:

"Savannah, October 6, 1779.

"SIR—I am persuaded your excellency will do me justice, and that, in defending this place and the army committed to my charge, I fulfill what is due to honour and duty to my prince. Sentiments of a different kind occasion the liberty of now addressing myself to your excellency; they are those of humanity. The houses of Savannah are occupied by women and children: several of them have applied to me, that I might request the favour you would allow them to embark on board a ship and go down the river, under the protection of yours, until this business is decided. If this requisition, you are so good as to grant, my wife and children, with a few servants, shall be the first to profit by the indulgence."

The allied generals considered this as another pretext for gaining time, to answer some advantageous purpose. The application from general M'Intosh, was in substance, to the same effect.

"Camp before Savannah, October 6, 1779.

"SIR—We are persuaded that your excellency knows all that your duty prescribes; perhaps your zeal has already interfered with your judgment. The count D'Estaing in his own name, notified to you, that you would be personally and alone responsi-

ble for the consequences of your obstinacy. The time which you informed him, in the commencement of the siege, would be necessary for the arrangement of articles, including the different orders of men in your town, had no other object than that of receiving succour. Such conduct, Sir, is sufficient to forbid every intercourse between us, which might occasion the least loss of time; besides, in the present application, latent reasons may exist: there are military ones which in frequent instances have prevented the indulgence you request. It is with regret we yield to the austerity of our functions, and we deplore the fate of those persons who will be the victims of your conduct, and the delusion which appears in your mind. We are, with respect, &c."

Count D'Estaing having been a month on the American coast, and the fleet close in shore; his naval officers remonstrated to him, the dangerous situation it was in, and the hazard of being attacked by the British fleet, while theirs was in bad condition, and while many of their officers and men were on shore. To these remonstrances were added, the commencement of an extraordinary portion of disease in the French camp, and the approach of the hurricane season, usually so destructive on the southern sea coast of the United-States. These representations determined the count D'Estaing to call a council of war, in which it was the opinion of the engineers, that it would require ten days more to work into the enemy's lines; upon which it was determined to try to carry them by an assault.

On the morning of the 8th, major L'Enfant, with five men, marched through a brisk fire from the British lines and set fire to the abatis, but the dampness of the air prevented the green wood from burning.

On the same day, the following order was issued by general Lincoln:

"Watch word—*Lewis*.

"The soldiers will be immediately supplied with forty rounds of cartridges, a spare flint, and their arms in good order.

“The infantry destined for the attack of Savannah, will be divided into two bodies: the first composing the light troops, under the command of colonel Laurens: the second, of the continental battalions and the first battalion of Charleston militia, except the grenadiers, who are to join the light troops. The whole will parade at one o’clock, near the left of the line, and march by the right, by platoons.

“The guards of the camp will be formed by the invalids, and be charged to keep up the fires as usual in the camp.

“The cavalry under the command of count Pulaski, will parade at the same time with the infantry, and follow the left column of the French troops, and precede the column of the American light troops: they will endeavour to penetrate the enemy’s lines between the battery on the left of the Spring-hill redoubt, and the next toward the river. Having effected this, they will pass to the left toward Yamacraw, and secure such parties of the enemy as may be lodged in that quarter.

“The artillery will parade at the same time; follow the French artillery, and remain with the *corps de reserve*, until they receive further orders.

“The whole will be ready by the time appointed, with the utmost silence and punctuality, and be ready to march the instant count D’Estaing and general Lincoln shall order.

“The light troops who are to follow the cavalry, will attempt to enter the redoubt on the left of the Spring-hill, by escalade if possible; if not by entrance into it. They are to be supported, if necessary, by the first South-Carolina regiment: in the mean time, the column will proceed with the lines to the left of the Spring-hill battery.

“The light troops having succeeded against the redoubt, will proceed to the left and attempt the several works between that and the river.

“The column will move to the left of the French troops, taking care not to interfere with them.

“The light troops having carried the works toward the river, will form on the left of the column.

“It is expressly forbid to fire a single gun before the redoubts are carried, or for any soldier to quit his ranks to plunder, without an order for that purpose; any who shall presume to transgress, in either of these respects, shall be reputed a disobeyer of military orders, which is punishable with death.

“The militia of the first and second brigades, general Williamson’s and the first and second battalions of Charleston militia, will parade immediately under the command of general Isaac Huger, after drafting five hundred of them; the remainder will go into the trenches and put themselves under the command of the commanding-officer there. With the five hundred, he will march to the left of the enemy’s lines and remain as near them as he possibly can, without being discovered, until four o’clock in the morning, at which time the troops in the trenches will begin the attack upon the enemy: he will then advance and make his attack as near the river as possible; though this is only meant as a feint, yet should a favorable opportunity offer, he will improve it and push into the town.

“In case of a repulse, after having taken the Spring hill redoubt, the troops will retreat and rally in the rear of the redoubt: if it cannot be effected that way, it must be attempted by the same route, at which they entered.

“The second place of rallying, or the first if the redoubt should not be carried, will be at the Jews’ burying ground, where the reserve will be placed: if these two halts should not be effectual, they will retire toward camp.

“The troops will carry on their hats a piece of white paper, by which they will be distinguished.”

On the night of the 8th, a sergeant of the Charleston grenadiers deserted, and communicated to the British general the plan of attack and the time when it was to be made: being apprised that the Spring-hill redoubt and batteries, was the point where the principal effort was to be sustained; and that the menace on the left of the works, by Huger, was but a feint; he made his dispositions accordingly. He removed the principal

part of his force from the left of his works, to the right, near to the Spring-hill, and placed that part of the defences under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Maitland.

By the general order, the assault was to be made at four o'clock in the morning; but it being delayed until clear day-light, an opportunity was afforded to the garrison of directing their fire on the advancing columns of the assailants, with full effect, by which they suffered severely, before they reached the British works. The French columns passed the abatis, crowded into the moat, and ascended to the berm, under a galling fire in front and flank: the carnage was great, without their being able to make any useful impression. Lieutenant-colonel Laurens, with the light troops, advanced by the left of the French column, and attacked Maitland's redoubt, commanded by captain Taws, and succeeded in gaining the parapet, where lieutenants Hume and Bush set the colours of the second regiment of South-Carolina: those gallant officers both fell; and lieutenant Gray supported the colours, and was mortally wounded; sergeant Jasper seeing that Gray had fallen, seized the colours, and supported them until he received a wound, which proved mortal: here the assault was lively and determined, and the resistance steady and resolute: general M'Intosh, at the head of the left column of the American troops, had passed the abatis and entered the ditch of the works, north of the Maitland redoubt. Count D'Estaing received a wound in the arm, early in the assault; and at this point of time received a wound in the thigh, which made it necessary to bear him off the field. Count Pulaski attempted to pass the works into the town, and received a small cannon shot in the groin, of which he fell near the abatis. Huger had waded half a mile through a rice field, and made the attack assigned to him, at the time mentioned. He was received with music, and a warm fire of cannon and musketry; and after having lost twenty-eight men, and accomplished the intended object of his orders, retreated. When the head of the American left had advanced to the moat; further impressions appeared

doubtful, if not impracticable; the commanding generals ordered a retreat: major Glasier of the 60th regiment, with the British grenadiers and marines of reserve, had been ordered to support the points assailed: Glasier made a sortie at the moment the order for retreat was given, and charged the American column under M'Intosh, in flank, and pursued that and the other troops in succession to the abatis, and the assailants retreated in disorder. The attack was made and supported with spirit and patient bravery, and the defence made with confidence and courage. The fire from the seamen's batteries, and the field artillery, traversed the assailants in all directions; in the advance, attack, and retreat; and the consequent slaughter of the combined troops was great.

On the retreat, it was recollected by his corps, that count Pulaski had been left near to the abatis: some of his men displayed great courage and personal attachment, in returning through the firing, though covered by the smoke, to the place where he lay wounded, and bore him off.

The combined army sustained a loss of six hundred and thirty-seven French, and four hundred and fifty-seven continental troops and militia, in killed and wounded; among the latter was the count D'Estaing, major-general De Fontanges, the chevalier D'Ernonville,* the count Pulaski, and many other officers of distinction. The British loss, during the assault, was only fifty-five killed and wounded. Their loss during the siege is not known.

The combined force, employed against Savannah, appears to have been as follows:—

* D'Ernonville was taken prisoner: his arm was broken by a ball; and if he would have submitted to an amputation, would probably have survived: when urged to the measure by general Provost, he refused; alleging, that with but one hand, he could not serve his prince in the field; and if so disabled, life was not worth preserving. He died on the 25th of December, and was buried with the honors of war: his funeral was attended by generals Provost and Leslie, and almost all the British officers in Savannah. He was from Louisiana, where many of his respectable relations now reside.

French troops,	2,823
Continental troops, including the 5th regiment of South-Carolina infantry,	1,003
Hayward's artillery,	65
Charleston volunteers and militia,	365
General Williamson's brigade,	212
Twigg's and Few's regiments, Georgia militia,	232
Pulaski's dragoons,	250
<hr/>	
Total,	4,950

The British force consisted of two thousand eight hundred and fifty men, including one hundred and fifty militia, some Indians, and three hundred armed slaves.*

At ten o'clock a truce was desired by the combined army, for the purpose of burying the dead and removing the wounded. The truce was granted for four hours, but the indulgence of burial and removal, was only extended to those who lay at a distance from the British lines: such as were within, or near the abatis, were buried by the British. Two hundred and thirty dead bodies, and one hundred and sixteen wounded, were delivered up, on giving a receipt for the latter, to be accounted for as prisoners of war.

About one thousand shells, and twenty carcasses, were thrown into the town during the siege: three or four houses were burned by the latter. When the French fleet first appeared off Savannah, the British had but twenty-three pieces of cannon mounted on the works in the town: on the day of the assault there were one hundred and eighteen pieces.

A number of Georgia officers who had no command, and other private gentlemen, formed a volunteer corps under colonel Leonard Marbury, consisting of about thirty: of this number, four

* To quell the consequences, which were likely to result from this impolitic union in arms, required the shedding of much of their blood. Policy forbids a narrative of the circumstances.

were killed, and seven wounded. Charles Price, of Sunbury, a young attorney of promising talents, and lieutenant Bailie, were among the slain. Majors Pierce Butler, and John Jones, were the aids of brigadier-general M'Intosh. Butler had been a major in the British army, of considerable promise and talents, but in the first part of the contest, resigned his commission and became a zealous advocate for the American cause. Major Jones was killed by a four pound shot, near the Spring-hill battery. Among the wounded was lieutenant Edward Lloyd, whose arm had been carried away by a cannon ball. While a surgeon was employed in dressing the remaining stump of this promising young officer's arm; major James Jackson observed to him, that his prospect was unpromising, from the heavy burden which hard fate had imposed upon him, as a young man who was just entering into life. Lloyd observed in reply, that unpromising as it was, he would not willingly exchange it for the feelings of lieutenant Stedman, who had fled at the commencement of the assault.

The conduct of sergeant Jasper, merits particular notice in the history of Georgia, and his name is entitled to a page in the history of fame, while many others, high in rank, might justly be forgotten. He was a man of strong mind, but as it had not been cultivated by education, he modestly declined the acceptance of a commission, which was offered to him. At the commencement of the war, he enlisted in the second South-Carolina regiment of infantry, commanded by colonel Moultrie. He distinguished himself in a particular manner, at the attack which was made upon fort Moultrie, on Sullivan's island, on the 28th of June 1776. In the warmest part of that contest, the flag-staff was severed by a cannon ball, and the flag fell to the bottom of the ditch on the outside of the works. This accident was considered by the anxious inhabitants in Charleston, as putting an end to the contest by striking the American flag to the enemy. The moment Jasper made the discovery that the flag had fallen, he jumped from one of the embrasures, and mounted

the colours which he tied to a sponge staff, and re-planted them on the parapet, where he supported them until another flagstaff was procured. The subsequent activity and enterprise of this patriot, induced colonel Moultrie to give him a sort of roving commission, to go and come at pleasure, confident that he was always usefully employed. He was privileged to select such men from the regiment as he should choose to accompany him in his enterprises. His parties consisted generally of five or six, and he often returned with prisoners before Moultrie was apprised of his absence. Jasper was distinguished for his humane treatment, when an enemy fell into his power. His ambition appears to have been limited to the characteristics of bravery, humanity, and usefulness to the cause in which he was engaged. When it was in his power to kill, but not to capture, it was his practice to permit a single enemy to escape. By his cunning and enterprise, he often succeeded in the capture of those who were lying in ambush for him. He entered the British lines, and remained several days in Savannah, in disguise, and after informing himself of their strength and intentions, returned to the American camp with useful information to his commanding-officer. In one of these excursions, an instance of the bravery and humanity is recorded by the biographer of general Marion, which would stagger credulity if it was not well attested. While he was examining the British camp at Ebenezer, all the sympathy of his heart was awakened by the distresses of a Mrs. Jones, whose husband, an American by birth, who had taken the king's protection, and was confined in irons for deserting the royal cause, after he had taken the oath of allegiance. Her well founded belief, was, that nothing short of the life of her husband would atone for the offence with which he was charged. Anticipating the awful scene of a beloved husband expiring upon the gibbet, had excited inexpressible emotions of grief and distraction.

Jasper secretly consulted with his companion, sergeant Newton, whose feelings for the distressed female and her child were

equally excited with his own, upon the practicability of releasing Jones from his impending fate. Though they were unable to suggest a plan of operation, they were determined to watch for the most favourable opportunity and make the effort. The departure of Jones, and several others (all in irons,) to Savannah, for trial, under a guard consisting of a sergeant, corporal, and eight men, was ordered upon the succeeding morning. Within two miles of Savannah, about thirty yards from the main road, is a spring of fine water, surrounded by a deep and thick underwood, where travellers often halt to refresh themselves with a cool draught from this pure fountain. Jasper and his companion considered this spot as the most favourable for their enterprise. They accordingly passed the guard and concealed themselves near the spring. When the enemy came up they halted, and only two of the guard remained with the prisoners, while the others leaned their guns against trees in a careless manner and went to the spring. Jasper and Newton sprung from their place of concealment, seized two of the muskets, and shot the sentinels. The possession of all the arms placed the enemy in their power, and compelled them to surrender. The irons were taken off, and arms put into the hands of those who had been prisoners, and the whole party arrived at Purysburgh the next morning and joined the American camp. There are but few instances upon record, where personal exertions, even for self preservation from certain prospects of death, would have induced resort to an act so desperate of execution; how much more laudable was this, where the spring to action was roused by the lamentations of a female unknown to the adventurers.

Subsequent to the gallant defence at Sullivan's island, colonel Moultrie's regiment was presented with a stand of colours by Mrs. Elliot, which she had richly embroidered with her own hands, and as a reward for Jasper's particular merits, governor Rutledge presented him with a very handsome sword. During the assault against Savannah, two officers had been killed, and one wounded, endeavouring to plant these colours upon the ene-

mies parapet of the Spring-hill redoubt. Just before the retreat was ordered, Jasper attempted to replace them upon the works, and while he was in the act received a mortal wound and fell into the ditch. When a retreat was ordered, he recollected the honourable conditions upon which the donor presented the colours to his regiment, and among the last acts of his life succeeded in bringing them off. Major Horry called to see him, soon after the retreat, to whom it is said he made the following communication: "I have got my furlough. That sword was presented to me by governor Rutledge, for my services in the defence of fort Moultrie, give it to my father and tell him I have worn it with honour. If he should weep, tell him his son died in the hope of a better life. Tell Mrs. Elliot, that I lost my life supporting the colours which she presented to our regiment. If you should ever see Jones, his wife, and son, tell them that Jasper is gone, but that the remembrance of the battle which he fought for them, brought a secret joy to his heart, when it was about to stop its motion forever." He expired a few minutes after closing this sentence. Commemorative of the gallant deeds of this brave man, his name has been given to one of the counties composing this state.

Count Pulaski was a native of Poland, and of noble birth: he lived in the reign of the pusillanimous prince Stanislaus, who had been raised to the throne by the influence of the empress of Russia, whose incendiaries scattered corruption and discord among the nobles, to accomplish that purpose and to prepare the way for the destruction of the kingdom. Prussia and Austria were abettors in that work of iniquity. A number of patriotic nobles, indignant of innovation on the elective franchise, subversive of the ancient order of the republic, disallowed the legality of the election of Stanislaus to the throne; perceiving that the doctrines of the Russian ambassador were the rules of action of the king, whose measures portended the destruction of the government, they associated under the denomination of confederates, to rescue their country from foreign influence,

and the consequent evils, by force of arms. Pulaski was one of the confederates; and for his high rank and military enterprise, they elected him their general.

The force and resources of the confederates, were unequal to their objects. Pulaski applied to France for assistance, and was secretly encouraged and supplied with money. A number of French officers engaged as volunteers in his service; who having introduced discipline among the confederate ranks, they acted with more vigour than formerly, and sometimes overthrew their adversaries; but such successes were transitory, and ruin followed.

The confederates determined to seize on the person of the king: a party selected for that purpose, attacked and wounded him in the streets of Warsaw, and bore him off; but the guard deserted and suffered him to escape to his palace.

As Stanislaus was elected by the intrigues of Russia, troops of that power were stationed in Poland to support his authority; and as those were insufficient to check the power of the confederates, others were advanced to their assistance. Prussia and Austria sent troops into Poland for the same purpose, under the plausible pretext of aiding Stanislaus in the recovery of his rights; but their object was in common with Russia, to partake in the division of the spoil. They stripped him of his territories, which he conceded as for services, until he had but a scanty fragment of country left for himself to govern. The confederates sued for peace and pardon; Pulaski and others of the confederate chiefs fled to France.

Liberty and independence, the favourite genii of Pulaski, were banished from his native country and had winged their way to the western shores of the Atlantic ocean; where he learned men were conflicting with tyranny determined to be free: there was no counterpoise in the balance; having been unsuccessful in his efforts to re-establish the independence of Poland, he resolved to lend his aid to the people of the United-States, who were engaged in his favourite pursuit; a war for self government.

The pursuits and fortunes of Pulaski were made known to the American ministers, then at Paris, by the French court; by the influence of which, the ministers gave him a recommendation to congress, who appointed him a brigadier-general of cavalry in their service. The remainder of Pulaski's life was devoted to the service of the United States; and it may be truly said, that on all occasions where he had an opportunity to act, "he sought the post of danger as the post of honour;" apparently regardless of danger, he sought every opportunity of being engaged with the enemy, and was always foremost in the day of battle.

After receiving the wound, in the attack on Savannah, the vessel in which he was intended to be conveyed to Charleston having a long passage, he died at sea and his body was launched and sunk beneath the waves: the funeral rites were performed in Charleston with military honours. The death of that gallant officer was greatly lamented by all the Americans and French, who had witnessed his valour or knew how to appreciate his merits.

On the 25th of October, lieutenant-colonel Maitland of the 71st British regiment of Scots, and member of the house of commons, died at Savannah. He had long been in the habit of indulging himself freely with his glass; but during the siege he found it necessary to restrain a propensity which had become constitutionally necessary for the preservation of his health. After the siege was raised, and the combined forces retired, he returned to his former habits and gratified them to such an extent as to produce convulsions, of which he died suddenly.

The following is believed to be a correct list of the French fleet, and detachments of different corps of land troops, which they had at Savannah:

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Languedock,	90	Recole,	64
Tonant,	80	Reflechi,	64

<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>
Robuste,	74	Provence,	64
Cesar,	74	Fiere,	50
Magnifique,	74	Sagittaire,	50
Triumphe,	74	Amazon,	36
Marseilles,	74	Fortune,	36
Annible,	74	Iphegenie,	36
Fendante,	74	Bondeuse,	32
Dauphine Royale,	74	Blanche,	32
Zelee,	74	Ellis,	26
Vengeur,	74	Chimere,	26
Hector,	74	Lively,	20
Arlisian,	64	Ceres,	18
Vaillant,	64	Fleur de la Mer,	16
Sphinx,	64	Alert,	12
Fantasque,	64	Barrington,	8

Four other small schooners, names unknown.

The land troops were drafted from the regiments of Armagnac, Champagne, Auxerrois, Agenois, Gatinois, Cambresses, Haynault, Foix, Dillon, Walsh, Le Cap, La Guadaloupe, La Martinique, and Port-au-Prince, royal artillery, infantry, marines, volunteers of Volbille and Cape Francois, and part of a mulatto regiment from St. Domingo.

British vessels captured by the French fleet, while they lay off Savannah.

Ship Experiment of 50 guns, with general Garth and thirty thousand pounds sterling in specie on board; ship Aerial of 20 guns; Myrtle, victualler; Champion, store-ship; ship Fame; and ship Victory, with a valuable cargo; several small sloops and schooners, coasting vessels, laden with rice and flour. Two privateer sloops of 10 guns each, and three schooners, were taken by colonel White in Ogechee river.

General Lincoln urged, that count D'Estaing would agree to continue the siege of Savannah; but the reasons which the count

gave for proposing the assault, still obtained: it was further urged, that the troops of France were reduced by the consequences of the siege, in killed, wounded, and disease, which was increasing; to less than fifteen hundred men fit for duty, on the 18th of October; and that the American troops under general Lincoln, did not exceed twelve hundred effectives. In addition, there were good reasons for a belief, that the British fleet at New-York, with an army on board, was preparing for a southern expedition; and in the present sickly condition of the crews of the fleet, and the reduced force of the combined troops, who were not more than equal to the besieged, it would be highly imprudent to remain and risk the consequences. The count notified to general Lincoln, his determination to raise the siege.

The removal of the heavy ordnance being accomplished, both armies moved from their ground on the 18th of October, in the evening. The French troops marched only two miles, and encamped for the ensuing day, in order to deter the garrison from pursuing Lincoln until he had time to reach Zubley's ferry; which being accomplished, the French troops embarked at Causton's bluff, and repaired on board of their ships at Tybee, on the 20th. The wind was adverse until the 1st of November, when the frigates passed the bar: on the 2nd, the fleet sailed from the coast of Georgia, and immediately thereafter they encountered a violent gale of wind, which dispersed the fleet; and though the count had ordered seven ships of the line to repair to Hampton roads, in Virginia, the marquis De Vaudreville was the only officer who was able to execute the order.

In general Lincoln's letter to congress, he says "Count D'Estaing has undoubtedly the interest of America much at heart. This he has evidenced by coming over to our assistance; by his constant attention during the siege; his undertaking to reduce the enemy by assault, when he despaired of effecting it otherwise; and by bravely putting himself at the head of his troops and leading them to the attack. In our service he has

freely bled. I feel much for him; for while he is suffering the distresses of painful wounds on a boisterous ocean, he has to combat chagrin. I hope he will be consoled by an assurance, that although he has not succeeded according to his wishes, and those of America; we regard with high approbation his intentions to serve us, and that his want of success will not lessen our ideas of his merit.*

General Lincoln retreated to Ebenezer, and on the 19th of October he left the army for Charleston, with orders to march to that place.

There was great dissatisfaction expressed by the citizens of Georgia, at the determination of D'Estaing to raise the siege: many of them had been under British protection, and having resumed their arms in opposition to the royal government, they were apprehensive of the consequences if they again fell into their hands. Notwithstanding these murmurs, general Lincoln by prudent management, suppressed the expressions of discontent, and the allied forces separated with mutual expressions of esteem and affection.

* After the war was ended; the state of Georgia, in general assembly, passed the following law: "And whereas, the general assembly of this state, resolved that grants of twenty thousand acres of land should issue to the vice-admiral, the count D'Estaing, in testimony of their respect for his meritorious services. *Be it therefore enacted*, That the vice-admiral, the count D'Estaing be, and he is hereby empowered and qualified, to receive and hold the grants of land aforesaid, and he is hereby admitted to all the privileges, liberties, and immunities of a free citizen of this state, agreeably to the constitution."

CHAPTER X.

AFTER the allied armies had retired from Georgia, the sufferings of the families of those who adhered to the American cause, were extreme: they had been accustomed to ease and comfort, and many of them to affluence. This regards the families of those who had been under British protection: the families of such as had steadily adhered to the cause of their country, were already stripped of their property by their plundering enemies and generally removed for the want of subsistence. Before they could be removed to a place of security, plundering banditti, under the denomination of loyalists, were let loose to pillage them of all that was moveable; such as negroes, stock, and furniture of every description; even clothing about their persons, their ear and finger rings, and breast pins, were deemed good prizes, and taken off by these free-booters: children were beaten with severity, to extort from them a discovery of the secret deposits of valuable property. The condition of the people of Georgia, was abundantly worse after the unsuccessful enterprise against Savannah, than it was before the French landed. The militia who had been under protection of the British, not allowing themselves to doubt of the success of the allied forces, cheerfully participated in a measure which promised the recovery of the state to the union. Future protection was not to be expected, and nothing remained for them but the halter and confiscation from the British, or exile for themselves, and poverty and ill-treatment, by an insolent enemy, for their wives and children who were ordered forthwith to depart the country without the means for travelling, or any other means, but a reliance on charity for subsistence on their way.

The obscene language which was used, and personal insults which were offered to the tender sex, soon rendered a residence in the country insupportable. Having neither funds nor means of conveyance for themselves and children, they were

obliged to abandon the country, under the most deplorable circumstances, and seek a dependent residence in the adjoining states, at the most inclement season of the year. Numbers, whose former condition enabled them to make their neighbouring visits in carriages, were obliged to travel on foot; many of them without shoes, through muddy roads and deep swamps. If some charitable person furnished a lean pony, they would probably travel but a few miles before it was taken from them. The families of general M'Intosh, colonel John Twiggs, and colonel Elijah Clarke, with many others of respectability, experienced distresses of which this is but a faint representation. Though colonel Twiggs' family was removed under the protection of a flag, they were fired upon by the enemy, and a young man who accompanied them was killed; the colonel, himself, narrowly escaped by flight. General M'Intosh's family was reduced from affluence to extreme poverty. Such were the necessities of his lady, when she reached Virginia with her children, that she was obliged to apply to governor Jefferson to relieve her from want. He furnished her with ten thousand dollars, which sounds like a large sum; but so great was the depreciation, and so much had clothing risen above their former prices, that it required seven hundred dollars to purchase a pair of shoes. Colonel Clarke's house was pillaged and burned, and his family ordered to leave the state. Mrs. Clarke and her two daughters set out for the north, without any other means of conveyance than a pony of little value. They had proceeded but a short distance before the horse was taken from them, and they were left in the road to travel through an enemy's country, thinly inhabited, without any means of conveyance or subsistence. Among the ordinary incidents of human life, but few occurrences justify the killing of a fellow-creature; but when the delicacy of the tender sex is assailed, and barbarity practised toward them, the mind of the most humane is filled with a species of revenge, which is not easily resisted. Those who had practised such cruelties, were not

spared when the fortunes of war threw them into the hands of their adversaries. Retaliation on both sides, became the order of the day; and the war for freedom and independence, became a war of extermination. For the honour of the civilized world, the author would willingly throw a veil over these transactions; but a disclosure of facts, is a duty particularly imposed upon a historian.

After the metropolis of the state had fallen into the hands of the enemy, the legislature had dispersed without appointing a governor for the succeeding year. John Werreat, esquire, president of the executive council, continued the operation of the functions of government; and on the 4th of November issued a proclamation at Augusta, representing that several attempts to convene the legislature had failed, owing to the distracted state of the country; and required that a general election should be held on the second Tuesday in the same month, in conformity with the powers vested in him by the constitution, and that the members so elected, should convene at Augusta without delay. After the siege of Savannah was raised, a number of the leading characters from the south-eastern division of the state, who persisted in adherence to the cause of independence; retreated to Augusta, and with others from the western division, formed themselves into a body, under the denomination of the general assembly. It is believed that all the members that constituted this body, were elected in the county of Richmond. This unconstitutional measure was probably resorted to, under the apprehension that the British would march in force to Augusta and take possession of it, before the time of meeting authorized by the constitution. The house of assembly being formed, William Glascock, esquire, was chosen speaker; and George Walton, esquire, governor of the state.

The assembly continued in session until the 4th of January 1780, when Richard Howley was appointed governor. Edward Telfair, George Walton, Benjamin Andrew, Lyman Hall, and William Few, esquires, were appointed members of con-

gress; William Stephens, chief justice; John Milledge, attorney-general; colonel John Stirk and captain Hardy, treasurers; Edward Jones, secretary of state; and Joseph Clay, paymaster-general.

It has been remarked, at an early period of the war, that discord and jealousy had been excited and fostered between the civil and military departments of Georgia. The distressing effects likely to grow out of this controversy, had induced the members of congress from this state, to request general Washington to order general M'Intosh to the head-quarters of the grand army, at Valley Forge, where he remained about six months. Application had been made by congress, to the commander-in-chief, for a general officer to take the command of the army, north of the Alleghany mountains. In addition to the qualifications necessary to constitute the general, a knowledge of the Indian character was to be combined, in the officer selected for this command. Though the party divisions and other difficulties, which had occasioned the removal of general M'Intosh from Georgia, had not yet subsided, he was not lessened in the estimation of the commander-in-chief, and was named as the most proper officer for that service. The following is an extract of a letter, written by general Washington to the secretary of war, dated 12th of May, 1778. "After much consideration upon the subject, I have appointed general M'Intosh to command at fort Pitt and in the western country, for which he will set out as soon as he can arrange his affairs. I part with this gentleman with much reluctance, as I esteem him an officer of great worth and merit, and as I know his services have, and will be materially wanted. His firm disposition and equal justice, his assiduity and good understanding, added to his being a stranger to all parties in that quarter, pointed him out as a proper person; and I trust extensive advantages will be derived from his command, which I could wish was more agreeable for his sake. He will wait upon congress for their instructions." While general M'Intosh was at

Pittsburg, he received regular advices of the progress of affairs in Georgia, and after the defeat of general Howe, and the subsequent disasters of the American arms in that quarter, he became assiduous in his solicitations for permission to return to his own state. In April, 1779, the commander-in-chief ordered him to the head-quarters of the main army, at Middlebrook, and from thence to the seat of government for further orders. The following is an extract of a letter, written by the commander-in-chief to the secretary of war, dated May 11, 1779. "Brigadier-general M'Intosh will have the honour of delivering you this. The war in Georgia, being the state to which he belongs, makes him desirous of serving in the southern army. I know not whether the arrangements congress have in contemplation, may make it convenient to employ him there: but I take the liberty to recommend him as a gentleman whose knowledge of service and of the country, promises to make him useful. I beg leave to add, that general M'Intosh's conduct, while he acted immediately under my observation, was such as to acquire my esteem and confidence, and I have had no reason since to alter my good opinion of him." In a letter from the commander-in-chief to general M'Intosh, he says, "I am informed that great abuses are practised in the southern states, in the hospital departments: you will consider it a part of your duty to correct this evil, as well as every other which may tend to the extravagant waste of public property." General M'Intosh found in many instances, the surgeons-mates indulging their palates with fine mutton and Madeira wine, while the poor sick soldiers were languishing in want.

The intestine divisions in the state of Georgia, increased rather than diminished after general M'Intosh left it, and no doubt they had a great share in its fall. In a letter of colonel Walton's to general M'Intosh, he says, "The Dæmon Discord yet presides in this country, and God only knows when his reign will be at an end. I have strove so hard to do good, with so poor a return, that were the liberties of America secure, I

would bid adieu to all public employment, to politics, and to strife; for even virtue itself will meet with enmity." A party in Savannah had formed themselves into a society under the popular denomination of the *Liberty Club*, and under its jurisdiction were several branches in the different counties, pretending that their objects were to support the civil authority and prevent any infringements on it by the military. Under this plausible pretext, the party became so numerous as to have the entire control over public appointments. It is worthy of remark, that governor Truitlen and the six members of the executive council, who voted for the measures of this party, against general M'Intosh, all took protection afterward under the British government, except John Lindsay.

General M'Intosh returned to South-Carolina in June, and in July general Lincoln ordered him to Augusta to take the command of the Georgia troops, and to hold himself in readiness to march at short notice, whenever the French fleet should be ready to form a junction at Savannah. M'Intosh took an active share in the siege, and commanded the left wing under general Lincoln, when the assault was made on the morning of the 9th of October. After the siege was raised, he retreated with general Lincoln into South-Carolina, and was afterward taken prisoner in Charleston when it fell into the hands of the British.

During the session of the assembly at Augusta, which has been noticed, a letter was forged and transmitted to the president of congress, dated November 30, 1779, and signed "William Glascock, speaker." An extract of this letter was transmitted to general M'Intosh, and by him to Mr. Glascock, requiring an explanation of its contents: to which the following answer was written to the president of congress, and a certified copy of it enclosed to M'Intosh, dated at Augusta, 12th of May, 1780.

"SIR—I am now to do myself the honour of addressing your excellency, on a subject of considerable importance to myself

and to a gentleman, whose character, both as a citizen and an officer, I esteem and honour. Indeed I take up the affair on a longer scale: I may say it is also of importance to this state and to the whole confederal alliance, as it strikes at the very root of reciprocal confidence, and opens a road to misrepresentation, detraction, and malice, which cannot be guarded against but with the utmost circumspection, and which, if not checked, might be productive of the most serious consequences to these states either in a civil or military sense. Brigadier-general M'Intosh informs me, that he lately received a letter from your excellency, enclosing the following extract of a letter to congress from me, as speaker of the assembly of the state of Georgia.

"It is to be wished that we could advise congress, that the return of brigadier-general M'Intosh, gave satisfaction to either the militia or confederates; but the common dissatisfaction is such, and that founded on weighty reasons. It is highly necessary that congress would, whilst that officer is in the service of the United-States, direct some distant field for the exercise of his abilities."

"I am sorry sir, to be informed by this extract, of the extreme malice and rancour of general M'Intosh's enemies; but at the same time enjoy a peculiar happiness, in having it in my power to defeat their nefarious machinations and intentions. I do hereby most solemnly declare to congress, that the above extract is a flagrant forgery, of which I disclaim all knowledge whatever, either directly or indirectly; neither did I ever subscribe in a public or private capacity, any letter or paper that could convey to congress such an idea of that officer, with respect to his country, which he has in my opinion served with reputation, and from which he ought to receive the grateful acknowledgements of public approbation, instead of the malicious insinuations of public slander, in which class I am under the necessity of ranking the forged letter, which is the subject of this. I am glad of the opportunity of informing congress,

that so far is that forgery from truth, that I believe there is not a respectable citizen or officer in Georgia, who would not be happy in serving under general M'Intosh, nor one in either class who would be otherwise, except a few who are governed by design or self interest." This letter was signed by William Glascock, and certified by major Peter Deveaux, who was one of the executive council.

The proceedings of the legislature of Georgia upon this subject, exhibit a strange inconsistency. On the journals of the house of assembly, dated January 30, 1783, are the following resolutions: "*Resolved*, That they have examined such papers and persons as have been offered by the different parties, from which it appears that the resolves of council, dated at Augusta, December 12, 1779, and the letter from governor Walton, to the president of congress, dated December 15, 1779, respecting general M'Intosh, were unjust, illiberal, and a misrepresentation of facts: that the letter said to be from William Glascock, speaker of the assembly, dated November 30, 1779, addressed to the president of congress, appears to be a forgery, in violation of law and truth, and highly injurious to the interest of the state, and dangerous to the rights of its citizens; and that the attorney-general be ordered to make the necessary inquiries and enter such prosecutions as may be consistent with his duty and office.

"*Resolved*, That general M'Intosh be informed, that this house do entertain an abhorrence of all such injurious attempts made use of, as appears by the papers laid before them, to injure the character of an officer and citizen of this state, who merits the attention of the legislature, for his early, decided and persevering efforts in the defence of America, of which virtues this house have the highest sense." The day preceding the one on which these resolutions were passed, George Walton, esquire, was appointed chief justice of the state of Georgia, by the same body who voted these censures upon him: therefore he was appointed to preside over the only tribunal, competent to his own trial.

The Georgians, whose property had been taken into possession by the commissioners of sequestration for the use of the crown, exercised their ingenuity to devise the means for the recovery of it, and to remove it into places of security. Small parties made frequent incursions, and in some instances they were successful, and in others they lost their lives. Parties of loyalists were laid in wait at the different passes, to intercept the Americans in their attempts to recover their own property, and were frequently successful in cutting them off. Private armed vessels were also employed for similar purposes: those of Georgia, commanded by commodore Oliver Bowen, captains Spencer, John Howell, William Maxwell, Job Pray, Hardy, John Lawson, Joseph Stiles, and many others who had small vessels in North-Carolina, made frequent voyages along the coast, with various success; and it is not matter of wonder, that both land and water parties made occasional reprisals on the enemy, when they were unsuccessful in the recovery of their own property. By the activity of the privateers, the parties of the enemy who were collecting provisions and forage for the troops at Savannah, were frequently captured as they were passing along the inland navigation: the crews of the vessels, and guards which were taken on board, were generally paroled as prisoners of war; but when captures were made of such as had been guilty of murder, house-burning or robbery, on the friends of freedom, they were executed for their crimes: instances of this nature seldom happened, except by way of retaliation for murders committed by the British, for what they called treason and rebellion.

The privateers made frequent and successful voyages to the West-Indies, from whence they brought supplies of gun powder, salt, and other articles, necessary for the supply of the American troops and the citizens.

Colonels Twiggs, Dooley, Clarke, Few, and Jones, were actively employed on the frontier against the Indians, and in the partizan warfare into that part of the state, possessed by the

British troops. In one of Dooley's skirmishes in Burke county, two men were killed, by the names of Corker, and Webb. The next day, colonel Twiggs attacked a party of M'Girth's men, who had plundered and burned several houses: he retook the property, killed three of the enemy, and took five of them prisoners. About the 20th of March, colonel Pickens, with a part of his regiment, from South-Carolina, formed a junction with colonel Twiggs, and captain Inman's troop of horse. With this force, which consisted of about three hundred men, they marched down the Ogechee river, with the expectation of surprising M'Girth, whose marauders had been employed in distressing those who were in the American interest, in the south-eastern division of the state. They proceeded to Liberty county, got sight of M'Girth, and gave chase to him; but the knowledge he had of the country, and the fleetness of his horse, enabled him to escape. Some of his party were killed, and three or four taken prisoners. About sixty of the Americans returned to governor Wright's plantation, which had been fixed on as the place of rendezvous.

The British general in Savannah received information of passing events to the south, and ordered a force, which he deemed competent to the object, to proceed to Ogechee and disperse the Americans collected in that quarter. This detachment was commanded by captain Conklin of the first battalion of Dulaney's corps, consisting of two subalterns and sixty-four men. Conklin marched from Savannah, at three o'clock, on the morning of the 4th of April, and reached Ogechee ferry about ten. He met with some negroes, who informed him of the number and position of the party he was directed to disperse. He was suffered to pass over the river without interruption. He ordered ensign Supple with fifteen men, to file off and gain the right flank of his adversary. Pickens and Twiggs discovered the enemy as they were passing over the river, watched their motions, and were aware of the design of this manœuvre, and accordingly ordered the main body to be con-

cealed from the view of the enemy, and take an advantageous position to cut off their right flank, and to encourage the advance of the enemy, by exhibiting only twenty militia dragoons, under the command of captain Inman. This plan was well calculated to draw the enemy into close action, and cut off the probability of a retreat. Pickens and Twiggs having taken their positions on the flanks, waited the approach of the enemy, who advanced with apparent confidence. Captain Inman was too precipitate in the attack, which compelled the flanks to engage before the enemy had got off the causeway. In the first part of the skirmish, Conklin received a mortal wound. Lieutenant Roney finding his situation critical, resorted to the bayonet, with which he made a desperate charge, and was also wounded. Ensign Supple's detachment was pressed closely by captain Inman's dragoons, and compelled to retreat through the swamp in a rice field, where he knew the dragoons could not carry the pursuit. He re-joined his party, and ordered the wounded to be carried to the boats. He kept up a retreating fire until he reached the river, which he re-crossed. Of the enemy, two privates were killed and seven wounded, among the latter were the first and second officers in the command. Captain Conklin died the next morning. Governor Wright's barn, containing three hundred and fifty barrels of rice, was burned to prevent it from falling into the hands of the enemy, who were then employed in collecting supplies at Savannah. On the 27th of the preceding month, one of the American detachments fell in with a party of the enemy in Liberty county, consisting of white men and Indians; four of the former, and six of the latter, were killed, without sustaining any loss on the American side, except one man slightly wounded.

As the appearance of things at this period strongly indicated the subjugation of South-Carolina to the British crown, every exertion was made by the republican refugees from Georgia, to remove their property northwardly to places which promised safety. The principal object contemplated by the expedition of

Pickens and Twiggs, was to favour this design. While the owners were collecting their property, the scouting parties of the enemy were driven within the limits of the strong hold at Savannah. Among the American parties thus employed, one under the command of captain John Bilbo, was fired upon from a house near Cherokee hill. Bilbo received a mortal wound, and was carried off by his men to another house in the neighborhood, from whence he was removed the next day by the enemy to Savannah in a cart, where he died on the 8th of May. The vehicle in which he was conveyed, and the roughness of the road over which he had to pass, at least hastened if it did not occasion his death.

The small pox had not been in the country for thirty years, and the distresses of the people were greatly increased by its having been generally spread over the southern states by the enemy. Every effort to keep it out of the American camp had failed. This disease, more destructive to the human species than the sword of the enemy, was justly dreaded by the militia, when confined to camp in a warm climate. Superstition prevailed for a considerable time, against its introduction into the human body by inoculation. Experiments at last, overcame these fanciful whims, and the disease was introduced into the camp and country, and passed through both with very inconsiderable loss. It was afterward divested of its terrors, and placed upon a level with common diseases.

Finding that the impressions made upon the northern states were but transitory, the British generals turned more of their attention to those in the southern district. The late repulse of the allied armies before Savannah, gave encouragement to these views, and in December 1779, an army embarked at New-York, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, escorted by a fleet, commanded by admiral Arbuthnot. They had a tedious and boisterous passage, which prevented their arrival in Savannah until the 11th of February, where they remained but a few days to digest the plan of operations against South-Carolina.

A strong detachment of the British army was ordered to pass over the Savannah river, at Purysburg, and march along the sea-board through the eastern part of the state, while the main body of the army and the fleet, commanded by Sir Henry Clinton in person, passed round to Stono inlet, and dis-embarked on John's and James' islands. General Patterson marched through the country with but little interruption, formed a junction with Clinton on the south side of Ashley river, and advanced to Charleston on the 1st of April. Charleston was invested, and saps of regular approaches were opened on the land side; while it was closely blockaded by sea. As the detail of the siege and subsequent reduction of Charleston, more properly belongs to the history of South-Carolina, and has been given in detail by the venerable Doctor Ramsay; it is only noticed here to connect subsequent events in Georgia. The siege and the defence were conducted with military skill and enterprise, until the 12th of May, when the works were considered no longer tenable, and it was surrendered by general Lincoln to the British army and navy. By the fall of Charleston, general M'Intosh with the remnant of the Georgia brigade, all the other continental troops in the southern department, several thousands of the militia, and the residue of the ordnance and military stores, in the southern states, fell into the hands of the enemy.

Proclamations were issued by the British general, offering peace and protection to the inhabitants who would yield obedience and submission to the crown; and vengeance was denounced against those who continued to resist the royal government. Strong detachments of British troops were marched to the most populous towns, to establish military posts; and the militia were required to meet by regiments, surrender their arms and ammunition, and take protection.

So soon as the surrender of Charleston was made known to the governor of Georgia, at Augusta, he retreated with part of his council, and a number of the civil officers, to North-Carolina, and narrowly escaped capture on the way. Colonel Stephen

Heard, who was president of the council, and several of the members, retreated to Wilkes county, where the semblance of a government was still kept up.

Some time after the fall of Savannah, the public records of Georgia had been removed by captain John Milton to Charleston, and deposited in one of the public offices. After performing this service, Milton had returned and joined general Lincoln, in whose suite he acted as an additional aid, and continued with him until a short time before the British took Charleston. Finding that the public records were again in danger, captain Milton applied to Mr. Joseph Clay and Doctor N. W. Jones, to have them removed to some other place which promised more safety. Application was accordingly made to general Lincoln, who ordered Milton to take charge of them and have them transported in waggons to Newbern, in North-Carolina, and delivered to governor Nash. After this service was performed, Milton was ordered to return to Charleston. When he arrived at Georgetown, and heard that Charleston was surrendered, he joined captain Ogier, and soon afterward he attached himself to the remains of colonel William Washington's regiment of dragoons and with them retreated to Wilmington, and thence to Hillsborough, where he joined the barron De Kalb and returned to Carolina. After general Gates was defeated at Camden, Milton joined general Francis Marion and remained with him; he afterwards participated in the active and useful enterprises of that officer, and had a share in all the skirmishes in which he was engaged. When Marion was promoted to the rank of brigadier-general, captain Milton was appointed his aid-de-camp. When the British army passed through North-Carolina, the Georgia records were removed to Maryland, where they remained until the close of the war. These records, principally belonging to the office of the secretary of state, were almost the only public papers of Georgia, which were preserved. After the treaty between the United-States and Great-Britain, these records were brought back to Georgia under the care of captain Nathaniel Pearre, of the Georgia continental brigade.

The executive reign of governor Howley, was of short duration. In this gentleman's character, there appears to have been a mixture of an uncommon portion of excentricity, with great talents. The same traits of character were combined in the person of his secretary of state; but they very differently directed. While the governor and his council were surrounded with dangers and difficulties on the retreat, the gloomy prospects of the party vanished, under the exercise of the wit and humour of these two gentlemen. The value of paper money was at that time so much reduced, that the governor dealt it out by the quire for a night's lodging of his party; and if the fare was any thing extraordinary, the landlord was compensated with two quires; for which the treasurer required a draft made out in due form, and signed by the governor.

Brigadier-general Andrew Williamson encamped near Augusta, with about three hundred men. The governor suspected that Williamson encouraged the delay of himself and his numerous train, that they might fall into the hands of the enemy. There were strong grounds to suspect that Williamson concealed his intelligence of the reduction of Charleston, several days after he was informed of that event. His aid, Malcomb Brown, had long given evidences of his attachment to the royal government: Williamson could neither read nor write; and in fact, Brown was the general in every thing but in name. The editor of the Royal Gazette of Georgia, expressed some astonishment at the tardy movements of Williamson; asserting that long ago he had the king's protection in his pocket; and that he had agreed to accept of a colonels commission, while he commanded a brigade in the American service. However, this may have been, he gave every encouragement to the surrender of his brigade in Ninety-six district, accepted a colonels commission in the king's service, and continued to be a warm advocate for the re-establishment of the government of the crown, until the close of the war.

Colonel Elijah Clarke had embodied about three hundred men

in Wilkes county, and not suspecting the disaffection of Williamson, anxiously waited to be informed of his future intentions and determination. Williamson remained in his camp, apparently undetermined as to future operations, until the British detachments had marched to the frontier of Carolina, and colonel Brown had taken possession of Augusta. Williamson then called his officers together, and after expressing an opinion that further resistance would be vain and ineffectual, recommended to them to return to their homes, accept the proffered protection, and yield obedience to the British government.

Several of the patriots in Georgia, to the southward of Augusta, had been busily engaged for the first four months of this year, in getting off their families and a little property to support them in the northern states. Some had stopped in South-Carolina, who were obliged again to pack up and proceed farther north. Many who wished well to the American cause, foreseeing the distresses to which their families would be reduced by the want of the common necessities of life and a total loss of property, yielded and took protection. Others, who were regardless of every other consideration, but that of freedom and independence, and whose families were too unwieldy to be removed; determined to leave them and their property to the mercy of the enemy. Colonel John Jones of Burke county, and colonel Benjamin Few of Richmond, commanded two detachments of this description. They retreated to Wilkes and joined colonel Clarke. About this time the defection of Williamson was understood. Colonel Brown had despatched emissaries into the country, with authority to give protection and administer the oath of allegiance to the British crown. One of these parties, commanded by captain Corker, entered the house of colonel John Dooley, at a late hour of the night, and murdered him in a most barbarous manner in the presence of his wife and children. At the commencement of the war, this officer had accepted the commission of a captain in the Georgia continental brigade: the murder of his brother on the 22d of July 1776,

produced a determination to avail himself of the first opportunity, to take vengeance on its perpetrators; and for this purpose, he meditated an attack upon a party of Indians, then at Galphins. Propositions had been made to the Indians by the government of Georgia, to enter into negotiations for a treaty of peace; but the demands of the Indians could not be complied with on the part of the state, and no prospect remained of peace being effected. Captain Dooley's scheme of revenge was discovered soon after it was formed, and himself and a lieutenant who joined him in the plan, were arrested by the civil government of the state. Colonel Elbert was directed to order a general court-martial for their trial. Dooley requested permission to resign his commission, which was granted, and he was soon afterward appointed colonel of the militia, in Wilkes county, to fill the vacancy occasioned by the resignation of colonel Coleman. The greater part of the remainder of Dooley's life was passed in the camp: he was engaged in many battles and skirmishes, the issue of which were honourable to himself, and advantageous to his country.

Shortly after the capture of Charleston, and previous to the advance of colonel Brown to Augusta, a party of loyalists under the command of captain Hollingsworth, were detached by colonel M'Girth into the neighbourhood of captain M'Kay, in South-Carolina. This party murdered seventeen men on their farms, in one or two days. M'Kay's activity in the American cause, had rendered him peculiarly odious to the enemy; and in fact, he was the particular object of this party. From Pipe creek to Swicard's mill, the country exhibited a scene of ruin. All the moveable property was plundered, and every house was burned. A flourishing country of thirty miles in length, and ten in breadth, was desolated by these banditti. Disappointed in their expectations of getting possession of M'Kay's person, they resorted to the torture of his wife to extort from her a knowledge of the place of his concealment. The mode of inflicting the torture, was by taking a flint out of the lock of a

musket, and putting her thumb in its place. The screw was applied, until the thumb was ready to burst. While under this new invented species of torture, which would have been considered disgraceful to the most savage nation in the world, in addition to the questions put to her respecting her husband, she was required to disclose the secret deposit of her most valuable property, which they alleged had been removed and hidden in the woods. M'Kay was afterward charged with cruelty toward the enemy, by his own countrymen who were engaged in the same cause: to such, let it be asked, if there were any measures of retaliation which would satisfy the human mind, where the measure of injuries had become full and overflowing. To such causes as these, the subsequent sanguinary mode of conducting the war in Georgia, is justly attributable.

Colonel Clarke despatched special messengers into Carolina, to advise with some of the principal officers, offering to co-operate with them in making a stand against the enemy. In the mean time his command was dispersed to make preparations for a long campaign, and take leave of their families. Twenty days were allowed for preparations, and Freeman's fort fixed on as the place of rendezvous. In the interim, no intelligence had been received flattering to their hopes; on the contrary, the British had marched in force to the frontier of South-Carolina, where the loyalists were forming into companies and regiments. Some small parties had previously left Georgia, passed along the frontier of Carolina on the slope of the mountains, and joined the American army near Cataba river.

Agreeably to appointment, on the 11th of July, one hundred and forty men, well mounted and armed, rendezvoused at Freeman's fort. They crossed the Savannah river in the night at a private ford, six miles above Petersburg. The British and loyalists were at this time in force in his front. This intelligence was received by colonel Clarke the next day after he marched from his rendezvous, and induced a belief, that to pursue his intended route, with his present numbers, would be

hazardous, and render the safety of his retreat very doubtful. The interior of North-Carolina, was known to be generally disaffected to the American cause; and to join the army, he was obliged to pass through it. The men who composed Clarke's command were volunteers, and having left their own state, each man claimed the right of thinking and of acting for himself. The dangers which were presented, and the ungovernable disposition of his men, induced Clarke to return to Georgia, temporarily disperse, and wait for more favourable intelligence, when he would make another attempt by passing near the foot of the mountains through Carolina. This plan being generally approved, a retreat was immediately commenced.

Colonel John Jones of Burke county, objected to the retreat, and proposed to a few to join him and leave the country at every hazard, by passing through the woods to North-Carolina, and joining the army wherever it was to be found. When Jones's plan was made known, thirty-five men joined him, formed themselves into a company, appointed Jones their captain, and John Freeman lieutenant; promising implicit obedience to their orders. Benjamin Laurence of Carolina joined them, and as he was a good woodsman and well acquainted with the country, rendered them great services as a guide. As they passed through the disaffected country, they pretended to be a company of loyalists, engaged in the king's service; and in many instances were furnished with pilots, under that impression. When they had passed the head waters of Saluda river, one of these guides informed them, that "a party of rebels had attacked some loyalists the preceding night, a short distance in front, and defeated them." Jones expressed a wish to be conducted to the place, that he might join the loyalists, and have it in his power to take revenge for the blood of the king's subjects which had been shed. About eleven o'clock on the night of the 14th of July, Jones was conducted to the royal party, where about forty were collected to pursue the Americans who had retreated to the north. Jones made his dispositions for attack

by surprise, with twenty-two men, leaving the horses and baggage in charge of the remainder. He approached the enemy with swords, guns, and belt pistols, and found them in a state of self security and generally asleep. On the first fire, one of the enemy was killed and three were wounded. Thirty-two, including the wounded, surrendered and called for quarter. Jones ordered all the enemy's guns to be destroyed, except such as would be useful to his men; paroled the prisoners, and took as many of the horses as they could convey away without incumbrance, to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. The pilot did not discover his mistake until it was too late to prevent the consequences; and after the skirmish, was required to conduct the Americans to Earle's ford, on Packolet river, where a junction was formed with colonel M'Dowell the next day. They had taken no rest for three days and nights. M'Dowell had made a long march the same day, with three hundred North-Carolina militia, of course his troops were very much fatigued.

The British garrison at Prince's fort, was commanded by colonel Innis. He had not been informed of the approach of M'Dowell's militia; and detached captain Dunlop with seventy British dragoons, in pursuit of colonel Jones. M'Dowell was encamped on the east side of the river, on rising ground. Dunlop reached the vicinity of M'Dowell's camp, late at night, and supposing it to consist of Georgians only, he delayed the attack until the dawn of day. As he was crossing the river, which was narrow, the sentinel fired, which gave the first notice to M'Dowell of the enemies approach. Dunlop rushed into the camp with drawn swords, when but few of the Americans were awake. The position of the Georgians in the encampment, exposed them to the first attack, in consequence of which, they sustained very great loss in proportion to their numbers. Colonel Jones received eight cuts on the head with a sabre. Freeman rallied the remainder, and joined major Singleton, who had retreated about one hundred yards and formed behind

a fence. M'Dowell formed the main body on Singleton's right. An advance was ordered, and the enemy retreated across the river, which was fordable in many places, and enabled them to get off without much loss. Of the Americans, eight were killed and thirty wounded; two of the former, and six of the latter, were from Georgia. The enemy's loss was not known; but believed to be but one wounded, who was left on the ground.

Fifty-two of the most active men, including Freeman and fourteen of his party, mounted upon the best horses, were ordered to pursue the enemy, under the command of captain Hampton. The pursuit was commenced before sun-rise, and after a march of fifteen miles, in the short period of two hours, the enemy was attacked by surprise and defeated. Eight of the enemy were killed at the first fire; and Dunlop unable to rally, made a precipitate retreat in which several of his men were killed and wounded. The pursuit was continued within three hundred yards of the British fort, in which there were three hundred men. Hampton returned to camp at two o'clock, and brought with him thirty-five horses, with dragoon equipage, and a considerable portion of the enemy's baggage, without the loss of a man.

When colonel Elijah Clarke returned to Georgia, he found warm and zealous advocates in the persons of colonel Stephen Heard, president, Mr. Downs, Mr. Davis, and other members of council, in rousing into action and resistance, the militia of the western district. The most powerful arguments were used to stimulate them to join their countrymen and resist the enemy. During their continuance in the state, they were necessarily secreted in the woods, and privately supported by their friends. This mode of living soon became insupportable, and a general wish prevailed to leave the country and join the army, where their services would be useful. Clarke's regiment was again assembled, and marched along the slope of the mountain, and was joined by colonel Jones near the line which separates North from South-Carolina. He formed his encampments upon ad-

vantageous grounds, often changing his positions to guard against surprise. He was soon after joined by several small parties from Georgia, and by captain James M'Call, with about twenty men from colonel Pickens' regiment.

As Clarke had no public funds at command, he was obliged to subsist and forage upon the enemy; with whom he often skirmished with success. He watched every opportunity of cutting off the supplies of colonel Innis; and gave so much annoyance to his garrison, that a determination was formed to bring on a general action, which it was the interest of his opponent to avoid. With this view he came out in force, and pursued Clarke to Wafford's iron works, on the 10th of August, where Clarke chose his ground and waited the attack. In the afternoon his piquet was driven in, and a distant fire continued until near night. Every exertion was made to draw Clarke from his position, which was chosen with great judgment; but he guarded against being drawn into battle upon equal ground, while he was out-numbered in the ranks of the enemy; and Innis as carefully avoided close action, unless he could effect it upon equal terms. The opposing parties withdrew from their ground in the night. Each claimed the victory, though no great advantage had been obtained by either. Innis retired to his fortress, which was near Musgrove's mill, on Enoree river, and Clarke returned the next morning to his usual encampment.

The loss of the Americans, was one major and three privates killed, and five or six wounded. The loss of the enemy, five killed and eleven wounded. Major Burwell Smith, who was among the slain, had been an active partizan in Indian warfare, and had greatly contributed to the settlement of Georgia: he had often skirmished with the Indians, and never suffered surprise or defeat. His fall was lamented by all those who acted with him, and particularly by colonel Clarke, who considered him one of his best partizan officers.

Colonel Clarke continued to annoy the foraging parties of the enemy, and was so generally successful, that colonel Innis

determined to increase his force, renew the attack upon Clarke's camp, and if possible, drive him out of the country. With this view he commenced his march at the head of three hundred and fifty men, composed of British regulars, militia, dragoons, and loyalists. On the night of the 17th of August, the approach of Innis was communicated to Clarke by his spies. Fortunately for colonel Clarke, he had been joined by colonels Williams, Branham, and Shelby, and this united force, all militia, raised his numbers to an equality with the ranks of the enemy, and after consulting the field officers, it was determined to meet them the next morning.

About four miles north of Musgrove's mill there was a plantation, through which was a lane, and Clarke considered that the north end of it afforded him a favourable position for the attack. He advanced with one hundred men; himself on the right, and major M'Call on the left; forming in the edge of the thick wood across the road, and extending his flanks near the fence. Williams and Branham were ordered to form close in the rear of the flanks, and Shelby to cover the centre, as a reserve corps, and to throw his force wherever circumstances might require. The advance guard of the enemy were within fifty paces before they were aware of danger. When Clarke commenced the attack, Innis ordered his dragoons and mounted militia to charge upon the Americans, and force them from the ground they occupied, that he might have room to form his regulars. Clarke was aware that the issue of the battle depended on his holding his ground, so as to force the British regulars to form in the open field, while his own men would be covered by the fence and the woods. Williams and Branham advanced and formed upon the right and left, and Shelby to the support of the centre, and the contest became close and sanguinary. Observing this additional force, the dragoons and royal militia retreated into the lane among the British regulars, thus increasing the confusion, and flying from the field in the utmost disorder. The regulars had not room to form, and if

they had in the open field, it would have been to great disadvantage. In this confused state, exposed to a galling fire from the American riflemen, they remained but a few minutes before seven British officers out of nine, were either killed or wounded; and the men tumbled down in heaps, without the power of resistance. Among the wounded, was the British commander. Captain Ker, second in command, finding that resistance would then be vain, and without hope of success, ordered a retreat; which was effected in close order for four miles, resorting to the bayonet for defence in flank and rear. The pursuit was continued by the victors, until the enemy took refuge in Musgrove's mill.

The British loss, was sixty-three killed, and about one hundred and sixty wounded and taken prisoners. The American loss, was four killed, and nine wounded; among the former was captain Inman, and among the latter were colonel Clarke and captain John Clarke. The colonel received two wounds with a sabre on the back of his neck and head: his stock buckle saved his life. He was for a few minutes a prisoner with the enemy, in charge of two men, but taking advantage of his strength and activity, he knocked one of them down and the other fled. Colonel Clarke buried his dead, and returned to his former encampment near the iron works.

CHAPTER XI.

LORD CORNWALLIS having spread his military posts over Georgia and South-Carolina, considered the conquest of those two states so far complete, as to authorize with impunity an infringement of the conditions stipulated in the protections which had been given to the inhabitants. The impression first made upon the public mind, was, that persons and property were to be secured against outrage and molestation, by the British troops and loyalists, and that they were not to take up arms against the crown of Great-Britain, so long as these conditions were duly regarded. Having gained entire possession of these two states, his lordship began to indulge the idea of extending his conquest to North-Carolina; but finding that his numbers were unequal to his plans; the deficiency could only be supplied by making an indiscriminate call upon the militia. With this impolitic measure in view, Sir Henry Clinton had issued a proclamation on the 5th of June, by which it was declared, that all those who were paroled, (not taken in action or under arms,) and those who had taken protections, should be released from these unnecessary restrictions, and after the 20th of the same month, should be liable to take up arms in defence of the country, and consider themselves as being restored to all the rights and duties appertaining or belonging to the king's subjects. All persons of the description before mentioned, who should thereafter neglect or refuse to return to their allegiance, were to be considered as enemies and rebels, and treated accordingly.

There was some ambiguity in this proclamation, and some of those who had taken protections were willing to construe it into its most favourable light toward themselves: others who had not so high an opinion of the character of the British commander, considered the proclamation as a direct violation of the conditions stipulated in their protections. An explanation how-

ever, soon followed the proclamation, which verified the predictions of the minority, that Sir Henry Clinton was capable of duplicity, and of the violation of contracts, whenever such measures accorded with the interest of his prince. The following is an extract of lord Cornwallis' letter to the commanders of his out-posts. "The inhabitants of the provinces who have subscribed to, and taken part in this revolt, should be punished with the utmost rigour; and also those who will not turn out, shall be imprisoned and their whole property taken from them or destroyed. I have ordered in the most positive manner, that every militia man who has borne arms with us and afterward joined the enemy, shall be immediately hanged. I desire you will take the most rigorous measures to punish the rebels in the district in which you command, and that you obey in the strictest manner, the directions I have given in this letter, relative to the inhabitants in this country." This order was circulated among the British officers, at the garrisons in Georgia and South-Carolina, but foreseeing the bad effects it might have upon the public mind, it was for a time carefully concealed from the people at large. The most barbarous cruelties were practised under its authority, without the forms of trial. In many instances, officers, soldiers, and citizens, were brought up to the place of execution, without being informed why they had been taken out of prison. The next morning after this sanguinary order reached Augusta, five victims were taken from the gaol by order of colonel Brown, who all expired on the gibbet.

Encouraged by the hope that the foregoing proclamation and order, by the British commanders-in-chief, would rouse the resentment and bring into the field all those who felt an interest in the American cause; colonel Clarke determined upon making the attempt to recover a part of his own state. Lord Cornwallis had drawn all his disposable force to his head-quarters, near Camden, to oppose general Gates, and afterward to give him sufficient strength to advance into North-Carolina: conse-

quently he had left barely a sufficiency to garrison his posts in Georgia and South-Carolina. About the 1st of September colonel Clarke returned to Wilkes county, in Georgia, and lieutenant-colonel M'Call to the western part of Ninety-six district; with the expectation of raising a joint force, of at least one thousand men. To such an army it was supposed that Augusta would submit with little or no resistance, and that Ninety-six might soon afterward be menaced, and would probably be evacuated by the enemy. If Clarke's views had been seconded with that zeal which inhabited his own bosom, the exertions of one month would have thrown the western divisions of Georgia and South-Carolina, into the possession of the Americans.

Though the Carolinians were in general, favourably disposed toward the freedom and independence of their country, and felt great solicitude for the success of the plan, yet they could not be sufficiently inspired with the certainty of the issue, to induce them to take up arms. The effects of the British general's proclamation, had not, to their knowledge, commenced its operations. The sacrifice of those lives which had fallen under lord Cornwallis' explanatory order, was attributed to other causes, and the secret spring which formed its basis, was concealed from the public.

Lieutenant-colonel M'Call made his first application to colonel Pickens, and the most influential officers of his regiment; but with little success. The stipulations in their protections had not yet been violated, and they considered themselves bound, by conscience and honor, not to break their engagement until an infringement was made upon its conditions. Instead of five hundred men, which had been confidently calculated upon from Carolina, M'Call's persuasions could only induce eighty to accompany him upon the expedition. With this number he marched to Soap creek, in Georgia, forty miles northwest of Augusta, which had been fixed on as the place of rendezvous. Colonel Clarke had been more successful: his numbers amounted to three hundred and fifty. Though this little band

fell far short of his expectations, and were really inadequate to the purposes he had in view, it was then too late to relinquish a project which he so anxiously wished to accomplish: he was therefore compelled to depend upon courage and stratagem, as substitutes for numbers in his ranks.

Colonel Clarke's arrangements had been made so suddenly, and so unexpectedly to the enemy, that he reached the vicinity of Augusta unobserved, and found them unprepared for an attack. On the morning of the 14th of September, he halted near the town, and formed his command into three divisions: the right commanded by lieutenant-colonel M'Call, the left by major Samuel Taylor, and the centre by colonel Clarke in person. The centre approached the town by the middle road, and the right and left by the lower and upper roads, at its eastern and western extremities. Near Hawk's creek on the west, major Taylor fell in with an Indian camp: they kept up a desultory fire and retreated toward their allies. Taylor pressed on to get possession of M'Kay's trading-house, denominated the White-house, one mile and an half west of the town. At this house the Indians joined a company of the king's rangers, commanded by captain Johnston. The attack upon the camp gave the first intimation to Brown of the Americans' approach. He ordered Grierson to re-enforce Johnston, and advanced to the scene of action in person, with the main body. The centre and right divisions completely surprised the garrisons of the forts, and took possession without resistance. Seventy prisoners, and all the Indian presents, were put under charge of a guard, and Clarke marched with the residue to the assistance of major Taylor. Brown and Grierson had joined Johnston and the Indians, and upon Clarke's approach, took shelter in the White-house, and defended it. Several attempts were made to dislodge the enemy, by taking possession of some small out-houses to the eastward; but they failed, from the houses being too small and flanked by the Indians. Finding that these houses furnished little or no defence, they were abandoned. A desultory fire

was continued from eleven o'clock until night, but it was found that the enemy could not be dislodged without artillery. The house was situated about eighty yards from the river. The Indians, who had not room to fight from the house, took shelter under the banks, which furnished them with a good breast work; while they were secured by the thick wood between the bank and the waters edge. At the close of the day the firing ceased, and strong guards were posted to keep the enemy in check.

Under cover of the night, Brown added strength to his position, by throwing up some works round the house. The crevices, between the weather boards and ceiling, were filled up with earth, to make it proof against musketry: loop-holes were cut out at convenient distances; the windows were filled up with boards, taken from the floors; and defence rendered as formidable as the materials at command would admit. The next morning two pieces of artillery, six and four pounders, were brought up from Grierson's fort, and placed in a position to bear upon the house; but the carriages not being calculated for field service, added to unskilful management, they proved of little use: captain Martin, of South-Carolina, the only artillerist attached to colonel Clarke's command, was unfortunately killed soon after the pieces were brought to bear upon the enemy. A fire was continued through the day, with small arms, but without much prospect of compelling the enemy either to abandon the house or surrender.

On the night of the 15th, Brown was re-enforced by fifty Cherokee Indians, who crossed the river in canoes: they were armed, and united in defending their beloved man. On the morning of the 15th, before day light, the Americans drove the Indians from the river bank, and cut off their communication with the water, by which the wounded, particularly, suffered greatly. The dead men and horses which lay about the house, became very offensive. Early in the engagement Brown was shot through both thighs and suffered among the wounded, who were often heard calling for water and medical aid.

The sufferings of the wounded; the want of water; and the nauseous smell of animal putrefaction, it was supposed, would discourage the besieged, and induce them to surrender. On the 17th, colonel Clarke sent colonel Brown a summons; but the proposition was rejected, and Clarke warned of the destruction his measures would bring upon the western division of Georgia. In the afternoon the summons to surrender was repeated, with the addition that Brown would be held responsible for the consequences of his temerity, and a declared determination to reduce the garrison, whatever might be the requisite sacrifice to accomplish it. Brown replied, that it was his determination to defend himself to the last extremity.

Immediately after colonel Clarke arrived at Augusta, Brown had despatched messengers by different routes to Ninety-six; informing colonel Cruger of his situation, and the necessity of immediate relief by re-enforcements. Sir Patrick Houstoun, one of the messengers, reached Ninety-six early on the next day, and was the first to communicate Brown's embarrassed situation to Cruger, who lost no time in making preparations and advancing to his relief. On the night of the 17th, Clarke's spies informed him of Cruger's approach, by forced marches, with five hundred British regulars and royal militia, to the relief of the besieged. Many of colonel Clarke's men had gone to visit their friends and families, in Burke county, from whom they had long been absent: others, who had been actuated by the hope of obtaining plunder, rather than by motives of zeal in the cause of their country, had decamped, laden with the goods which colonel Brown had received not long before for presents to the Indians.

About eight o'clock, on the morning of the 18th, the British troops appeared on the opposite side of the river. The weakness occasioned by the loss of men in the action and siege, and by the desertion of those who preferred plunder to the honor and interest of their country, compelled the Americans to raise the siege and retreat about ten o'clock, having sustained a loss

of about sixty, killed and wounded: among the former, were captains Charles Jourdine and William Martin. William Luckie, a brave and much respected young man from Carolina, was killed early in the contest in a desperate effort to gain the possession of the White-house. Such of the Americans as were badly wounded, and not in a condition to be removed, were left in the town. Captain Asby, an officer noted for his bravery and humanity, with twenty-eight others, including the wounded, fell into the hands of the enemy and were disposed of, under the sanguinary order of lord Cornwallis, in the following manner: captain Asby and twelve of the wounded prisoners, were hanged on the staircase of the White-house, where Brown was lying wounded, so that he might have the satisfaction of seeing the victims of his vengeance expire. Their bodies were delivered up to the Indians, who scalped and otherwise mangled them and threw them in the river. Henry Duke,* John Burgamy, Scott Reeden, Jordan Ricketson, — Darling, and two youths, brothers, of seventeen and fifteen years of age, named Glass, were all hanged: the former of these youths was shot through the thigh and could not be carried off when the retreat was ordered, and the younger brother could not be prevailed on to leave him; his tenderness and affection cost him his life: a horse was the fatal scaffold on which they were mounted, and from the gibbet they entered together on the long journey of eternity. All this was merciful, when compared with the fate which awaited the other prisoners; they were delivered to the Indians to glut their vengeance for the loss they had sustained in the action and siege. The Indians formed a circle and placed the prisoners in the centre, and their eagerness to shed blood spared the victims from tedious torture: some were scalped before they sunk under the Indian weapons of war; others were thrown into fires and roasted to death. The record of these transactions is now before the author, from the pens of British

* Henry Duke was hanged by order of colonel Cruger, under the charge of violating his protection.

officers who were present, who exultingly communicated it to their friends in Savannah, Charleston, and London, where it stands upon record in the papers of the day.

Major Carter, adjutant to colonel Clarke's regiment, received a mortal wound at the White-house door, endeavouring to prevent the enemy from gaining possession of it, and with great hazard, his companions carried him off the ground; he was removed to Mrs. Bugg's plantation, where he died a few days afterward. Colonel Clarke's own words give the best evidence of the high standing of this officer, in his estimation: "A man of more bravery than major Carter, never occupied a space between heaven and earth."

The British loss was announced in colonel Brown's official letter, published in Charleston, but cannot now be stated with correctness. Among the slain, was captain Andrew Johnston and ensign Silcox, of the Florida rangers. According to the British account, seventy Indians were killed.

The morning on which colonel Clarke retreated, he paroled the British officers and soldiers who had been captured, and received certificates from the officers, of the number of men who were to be considered and accounted for as prisoners of war: captain, or lieutenant James Smith, for himself and forty-one of the king's rangers; a commissioned officer and eleven men of Dulaney's corps, and a surgeon. These officers and private soldiers, regardless of their obligations as prisoners on parole, resumed their arms immediately after Clarke retreated.

Colonel Brown's command at Augusta, consisted of two hundred and fifty men, of several corps, but principally of Florida rangers; two hundred and fifty Creek, and fifty Cherokee Indians; making a total of five hundred and fifty. If Brown had not been surprised in the first instance, the numbers in his ranks would have authorized the defeat of his adversaries. This circumstance combined with his personal safety, probably occasioned his obstinate perseverance in the defence of this feeble fortress.

After the siege was raised, colonel John Jones made a visit to his friends in Burke county. British detachments were advanced in every direction, to seize upon such persons as had partaken in the siege, or were friendly to them by acts or deeds. One of these parties under the command of lieutenant Kemp, of the rangers, overtook and surprised colonel Jones and five others at a house on Beech island, below Augusta: James Goldwire was killed, and Jones and two others were wounded; they succeeded however, in repelling the rangers, and Jones and his party retreated into a swamp. The place of Jones' concealment, before he had recovered from his wound was discovered, and he was taken prisoner. Many of the loyalists wished to put him to death, but captain Wylly prevented it, by placing a guard over him for his protection. The country was searched, and those whose relations were engaged in the American cause, were arrested and crowded into prisons: others who were suspected of having intercourse with any of Clarke's command, were hanged without the forms of trial. The venerable grandfathers of the American patriots, whose hoary heads were bending toward the grave, were crowded into filthy places of confinement for no other crimes than those of receiving visits from their descendants, after a long absence. Among the number was the father of captains Samuel and James Alexander, in the seventy-eighth year of his age: he was arrested by a party commanded by colonel Grierson, and by his order, was ignominiously chained to a cart and dragged like a criminal forty miles in two days; and when he attempted to rest his feeble frame, by leaning upon the cart, the driver was ordered to scourge him with his whip. These old men were kept in close confinement, as hostages for the neutrality of the country; but by the inclemency of the season, the small pox, and inhuman treatment, very few of them survived to greet their friends in freedom, upon the re-conquest of it by the American troops. Twenty-five persons who had been paroled in Augusta several months, were sent to Charleston; among whom were majors George

Handley and Samuel Stirk, captain Chesley Bostwick, Mr. John Werreat, and several members of the executive council of Georgia.

The total defeat of general Gates, near Camden, on the 16th of August, and the surprise and defeat of general Sumpter, at Fishing creek, two days afterward, encouraged the hopes and enterprise of the enemy, whose ferocity increased with their success and power to injure.

In common with all other military expeditions of disastrous issue, much blame was attached to colonel Clarke for the one he projected and carried against Augusta. He was charged with deceiving his followers, by giving a high colouring to prospects, which it was unjustly alleged, existed only in fancy, and with having enticed them from their peaceful abodes, without a prospect of advantage to the cause in which he was engaged; and that the ruin and distress of many of their families, were involved in the calamity. Some of the writers of that day, who had neither the zeal, patriotism nor courage of this celebrated officer, denominated this expedition "an ill timed and a premature insurrection:" and in this extraordinary language, without an examination of the motives, it is recorded in the history of the war. Similar charges were alleged against M'Call in Carolina, who had a secondary share in the expedition. The inhabitants had not yet felt the scourge which was preparing for them. Their protections were soon after violated, their property confiscated or plundered, and they were peremptorily ordered to take up arms in defence of the royal government, not only in their own state, but in the subjugation of North-Carolina. The impolicy of the British rulers upon this occasion, was strongly evidenced by subsequent events. Unexpectedly required to take up arms, the people at large spurned the idea of fighting against their countrymen: by these harsh measures, they considered themselves released from the obligations contained in their protections, and the British soon found in them, a formidable enemy in the field.

Colonel Clarke's plans were laid with skill and judgment, and the part he had to act in them was well executed. Colonel Brown must soon have yielded for want of water and provisions, and would not probably have held out so long as he did, had it not been under a certain expectation of being relieved from Ninety-six. There are but few instances, where the plans of a commanding-officer do not suffer more or less by disclosure; and there are many instances where the causes of failure require secrecy for a time: consequently, his reputation is sometimes liable to suffer by acts of caution and prudence. If a powerful besieging army was compelled to retire from a feeble fortress for want of ammunition, what fatal consequences might there result from an immediate disclosure of the cause. Fatal disasters were not unusual during the Revolutionary war, which can be traced to the gratification of inquisitive militia officers, who refused to act without being made acquainted with the motives. It is the business of a commander to think, and of his army to act: if this confidence cannot justly be reposed in him, he is not worthy of the station.

After colonel Clarke raised the siege at Augusta, he retreated to Little river. His men dispersed in small parties to return to their homes for the purpose of taking leave of their friends, and making preparations to leave the country; and a time and place were appointed for their rendezvous. The prospects of poverty and want of subsistence, induced many of those, whose families were not too unwieldy, to carry them off to some place where they could be provided for. About the last of September, the distressed remains of Clarke's regiment met at the place appointed. When he was ready to march, he found himself at the head of three hundred men, who had in their train four hundred women and children. The political condition of the country, for two years, had been such, that the vestiges of cultivation were scarcely any where to be seen, and to leave families behind under such circumstances, was subjecting them to certain want, if not to starvation, in a country under the

control of an enemy, whose barbarity has been heretofore described.

With this helpless multitude, like Moses from Egypt of old times, and with not more than five days subsistence, Colonel Clarke commenced a march of near two hundred miles, through a mountainous wilderness, to avoid being cut off by the enemy. On the eleventh day, they reached the Wattauga and Nolachuckie rivers, on the north side of the mountains, in a starved and otherwise deplorable condition. Many of the men and women had received no subsistence for several days, except nuts; and the last two, even the children were subsisted on the same kind of food. This is a distressing picture, to which the pen cannot do justice; therefore, it must be filled up by the imagination. Many of the tender sex were obliged to travel on foot, and some of them without shoes; and notwithstanding the difficulties they had to encounter, they yielded without murmuring, and by their smiles cheered the drooping spirits of their husbands. The tenderness of the female heart, is always open to the sufferings of the brave and the honourable.

The inhabitants of the country, where these families were distributed, have been justly famed for their hospitality, and in no instance have the feelings been more completely verified, than in the alleviation of the distressing demands, which these unfortunate people now made upon them. They had nothing to recommend them, but their poverty, and the cause in which they suffered: these were sufficient. Supplies of clothing, subsistence and shelter, were in no instance withheld from them: nor were these gratuities momentary: they ceased only with the demands which the occasion called for upon their bounty.

So soon as lord Cornwallis heard of the retreat of colonel Clarke from Augusta, he ordered colonel Ferguson of the British army, with one hundred British regulars, to march to the frontier of South-Carolina, where he was well informed that his numbers could be augmented by loyalists, so as to form a sufficient force to overcome colonel Clarke and cut off his retreat,

supposing that he would be obliged to return through South-Carolina. Apprized of the danger which would attend this route, Clarke secured himself against it by crossing the mountains. M'Call made good his retreat on the eastern side, near the slope of the mountains, but suffered much for want of subsistence.

Flushed by the success of the British arms against generals Gates and Sumpter, and the retreat of colonel Clarke from Georgia; colonel Ferguson flattered himself with the subjugation of the country, without opposition. Elated by the field for plunder, which was opened in North-Carolina, the loyalists flocked to the royal standard in such numbers, that Ferguson was at a loss to furnish them with subsistence and employment, until they could reach the promised land; where they were to join the British army under lord Cornwallis. This junction was to be formed on the north side of Cataba river, at Charlotte, in Mecklinburgh county.

While the loyalists were amused with these golden fancies, which were to be reaped from the fields of honest industry: the hardy race of republican mountaineers were embodying for their destruction. The wanton depredations committed by the followers of Ferguson, were indiscriminately directed to all classes. The well wishers to the royal cause were not exempted from pillage, if they refused uniting with them and taking up arms. This procedure excited in the breasts of the republicans, the highest indignation; and like a stream advancing from its source, by branches falling into it on the right and left, the American army increased as it progressed. Colonel Campbell was nominally the commanding-officer, and the troops were arranged in four divisions under the command of colonels Cleveland, Shelby, Sevier, and Williams. Colonel Ferguson had taken his position on the top of King's mountain, where he was attacked by the Americans from four different points. The militia were ordered to fight in their own way, by securing their bodies behind trees from the enemy's fire, and to take de-

liberate aim. Ferguson and his whole army, consisting of eleven hundred men, with a few exceptions, were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, and all their arms, ammunition, camp equipage, horses, and baggage of every description, fell into the hands of the victorious Americans. While colonel Clarke was on his way crossing the mountains he met captain Hampton, who informed him that colonel Campbell was collecting a force on the west side of the mountains to attack Ferguson. Major Chandler and captain Johnston, with thirty men, filed off and formed a junction with colonel Campbell, at Gilbert's town, and had a share in the defeat of Ferguson. After disposing of their families among the hospitable inhabitants of Kentucky, and securing them against the want of the actual necessities of life, colonel Clarke collected the remains of his regiment, re-crossed the mountains and returned to his former position on the borders of South-Carolina, about the 20th of October. These men had been so long employed in active service, and had so frequently fought and skirmished with the enemy, that they might be considered as veteran troops.

The depreciation of the paper medium, had been severely felt among all descriptions of people, but more particularly by those connected with the army. The monthly pay of a captain, was not equal to the value of a pair of shoes. The whole army was badly clothed, badly subsisted, and the money with which they were paid was of very little value. The sources of public revenue had been exhausted in supporting the expenses of the war. While negociations were yet pending between the United-States and the continental powers of Europe, Mr. Telfair of Georgia, suggested to Mr. Walton, his colleague in congress, the idea of sending ministers generally, to those powers, and of drawing bills upon them at six months sight, depending upon loans for their acceptance and payment, with an offer of six per cent interest, to be paid annually, and the principal at some distant period. Mr. Walton at first view considered the plan chimerical, but admitted of its being worthy of consider-

ation. When the subject was introduced before the house by Mr. Telfair, he displayed a solidity of financial talents, in an unexplored field, which eventually saved the national credit. Bills were drawn upon foreign nations to a considerable amount, on the faith of the public credit, while congress were employed in making ministerial appointments to the courts upon which these bills were drawn. They were accordingly accepted and paid; and for a time, relieved the public embarrassments, and gave new life to the prosecution of the war.

In October, general Sumpter left his camp and went to Hillsborough to obtain some necessities for his troops; in which he was unsuccessful, and returned to his camp early in November. During his absence he had concerted with general Smallwood, that his command should manœuvre near the British army, at Winnsborough, and endeavour to draw off a considerable detachment from Cornwallis' army, in the pursuit of him; and Smallwood was to strike at the main army, with the continental troops, and North-Carolina militia. Smallwood being informed that general Greene was quickly expected to take command of the southern army, did not co-operate according to his engagement.

Sumpter moved from his camp, at Stalling's, on Fishing creek, with four hundred and twenty-five men, to the fish-dam ford on Broad river, which is twenty-eight miles from Winnsborough, and encamped on the east side on the morning of the 9th of November. From the fish-dam ford, the road to Charlotte, in North-Carolina, runs eastward; and on the right there was a plantation fenced along the road for half a mile, where the Winnsborough road leads out to the right: on the left of the road the ground is open and flat for two hundred yards from the river, and partially enclosed by a fence, and a hill of woodland, with thick undergrowth, commences and continues two hundred yards further along the margin of the road, and thence the high ground diverges to the left; and on the left, about two hundred and fifty yards from the road, a deep gully makes out

from the river, and leads nearly parallel to the road, along the left of the high ground. General Sumpter's tent was pitched on the left of the road, at the ford; colonel Richard Winn's troops, one hundred and twenty-five in number, were encamped on the general's left, and upward along the river; colonel Taylor's were encamped along the gully, on the left of Winn; and colonels Lacey, Bratton, and Hills' troops, upward of three hundred men, were encamped on the high ground, in the thick wood, about three hundred and fifty yards in front. During the day of the 9th, colonels Twiggs and Clarke, and majors Chandler and Jackson, with about one hundred Georgia militia; and in the evening, colonel M'Call, with a part of his regiment from Long-cane, joined the camp. These two re-enforcements occupied the ground between Winn's and Taylor's commands. On the morning of the 12th, colonel Thomas Taylor, with fifty men, was ordered to proceed toward Winnsborough, to reconnoitre the country and gain intelligence of the enemy's movements. During the day Sumpter called his field officers into council, who advised him to retire over Board river, but the general thought otherwise, and kept his ground. Taylor returned about midnight, without having gained any information.

Lord Cornwallis had conceived it practicable to surprise Sumpter in his camp; and for that purpose detached major Wemyss, at the head of the 63rd regiment, mounted, and forty or fifty dragoons. The people of the country, surrounding Sumpter's camp, were generally disaffected to the American cause, which enabled Wemyss to obtain correct intelligence of his force, and the position of every corps in the encampment, and guides to conduct him to the different points. An officer with five dragoons, and a guide, was appointed to attack Sumpter in his tent.

Colonel Winn suggested to some of the officers, the probability of the enemy attacking by surprise: he took the precaution to order his men to sleep on their arms, and to keep up good fires during the night, and to sleep in the rear of their fires; and

pointed out the ground on which they were to form, in case of attack. Twiggs and M'Call had taken similar precautions, but their ground was not so well calculated for defence.

About four o'clock in the morning of the 13th, the American piquet fired on the British van, and retreated to the camp. Twiggs, Winn, and M'Call immediately formed for action. Sumpter was in profound sleep, and his orderly neglected to awake him on the first alarm; and the party assigned to that service, were at his tent before he could put on his coat: he ran out, leaped the fence, and escaped by the river bank.

As soon as the piquet fired, the British advanced in full charge into the camp. When the dragoons advanced to the fires, before Winn's command, they came to a halt and paused, perceiving no enemy, being blinded by the light of the fires. Winn's troops having a fine view of them, took a steady aim and fired; the dragoons wheeled about, and in retreat they killed a young man by the name of Sealy, a loyalist, who had been a prisoner, and liberated the day before. The British infantry had dismounted, formed, and advanced near the fires, and Winn having formed his men behind a fence, and Twiggs's and M'Call's partially so, they opened their fire, which was briskly returned by the enemy for a short time, when they charged with the bayonet; but the fence obstructed their intentions, where they received a close fire from the Americans, and commenced a retreat. Taylor advanced on their flank, and gave them three shots from the whole of his troops, during their retreat. On the first advance of the infantry, major Wemyss was wounded, and in a short lapse of time, captain Carr gave him another shot, of which he fell. When the infantry charged with the bayonet, Winn had one man slightly, and captain Samuel Carr, of M'Call's regiment mortally wounded. After an action of twenty minutes, the British infantry re-mounted and retreated.

Lacey, Bratton, and Hills' corps never fired a shot, fearful that they would kill their friends as the action was close, and

the night very dark. The British loss was considerable: major Wemyss was badly wounded; about twenty were killed, and the ground strewed with their wounded. A surgeon, who was sent with a flag to take care of them declared, when he returned to Winnsborough, that he had never witnessed so much injury being done by so few troops in so short a time, since he had been in America, as had been sustained by the British troops.

Sumpter being cut off from his troops, imagined that all was lost, and had like to have been frozen; but on ascending a high ground, when it became day-light, he was agreeably disappointed by a view of his troops in quiet possession of the field of battle.

If Lacey, Bratton, and Hill, had received orders how to attack; the whole of the British detachment would have been captured; but by the misfortune that befel Sumpter, which was unknown to his officers, no one assumed the chief command; and of course, there was no unity of action.

In the British accounts of this skirmish, it is stated that only a few shots were fired. Major Wemyss received two wounds, which disabled him from the further performance of his duty, and the command devolved on a young lieutenant, who was unacquainted with the ground, the plan, or the force to be encountered. That all was confusion; and that the British retired with the loss of twenty men.

On the 13th, general Sumpter passed over Broad river and encamped at Niam's plantation, on the Enoree: from thence he marched down to Shirer's ferry, where there was a British post, and menaced it; but the British declined to quit their works and come out to battle: thence he moved up the country; and on the 18th, took post at Blackstock's, on the south side of the river Tyger, sixty miles from Winnsborough, and thirty-five from fish-dam ford, of Broad river.

Blackstock's house was long and narrow, and of two apartments of eighteen feet square, with eighteen feet space between, and a roof over the whole. In the rear of the house, a few hun-

dred yards, is the crossing place of the river Tyger: midway from the house to the river, is a hill making down from the right, nearly parallel with the house, and terminates at the road: the house is on a second elevated ground, below the hill, covered with open wood land, and lunating with its concave to the front. The road leads from the river by the right of the house, and leads directly forward, as the house fronts and descends through the field about one hundred yards to a small rivulet; and near the road to the right, is low brush wood; and on the left a field, with the fence on the left, extending a quarter of a mile, in a straight direction, where the road divides. The field on the left makes a right angle at the house, and the fence runs directly to the left, to the low grounds of the river; on the right of the road, opposite to the end of the house, was a small pole building. On the second elevation, in the rear of the house, and parallel thereto, general Sumpter encamped his troops, and expecting that he would be attacked, he assigned to each corps their respective ground to act on.

Colonel Hampton, of Broad river, with his troops was to occupy the house: colonel Twiggs, the senior officer under general Sumpter, assisted by colonel Clarke, and majors Chandler and Jackson, with the Georgia militia, were to occupy the fence and wood land to the left of the house: colonels Bratton, Taylor, Hill, and M'Call were to occupy the right of the house, with their right formed on the curve of the rising ground: this corps was to be commanded by the general in person: colonel Lacey was appointed to cover the right; and colonel Winn was to occupy the hill, as corps of reserve. Colonel Chandler had been detached on the march to collect provisions. General Sumpter's force consisted of four hundred and twenty men.

Hearing that Sumpter had crossed Broad river, and calculating that his views were on Ninety-six, Cornwallis determined to make another blow at him. For this purpose, he ordered colonel Tarlton, with his legion, and the 63rd regiment, commanded by major Money, to push Sumpter to the utmost; and

part of the 71st was advanced to Broad river to cover him, if it should be needful. Tarlton had a part of his infantry mounted, making the whole number on horse-back, four hundred; and three hundred infantry marching on foot. Thus equipped, he advanced in pursuit of Sumpter with his accustomed celerity.

On the morning of the 20th, captain Patrick Carr with a few men was ordered to reconnoitre, and had taken three loyal militia, unarmed, and two boys who had been to mill, prisoners, and was conducting them to camp. Tarlton came up with Carr, who gave him a shot and fled to the camp, leaving the prisoners and mill boys behind; these poor wretches were killed by Tarlton, and were what he denominated "the rebel rear-guard which he had taken and cut to pieces." Colonel Chandler, with his forage wagons, had just passed Sumpter's piquet, when they fired on Tarlton's van: Taylor with his party and wagons, ran in with the piquets and were closely pursued by the British dragoons as they entered the camp.

Finding that his infantry moved too slow, Tarlton left them to follow, and rapidly advanced with his cavalry and mounted infantry: when he received the fire from the piquet, he ordered the infantry to dismount, and with the cavalry he made a rapid charge through the field, on the Georgians under colonel Twiggs. The British infantry advanced, and Sumpter led on the right to the attack, and gained their flank. Lacey's men were on horse-back, and advanced on the enemy's flank. Tarlton retreated with his cavalry, formed and returned to the charge, and thus continued directing his chief efforts with his cavalry, against the Georgians, in order to turn the American left. When Sumpter had fairly engaged with the right, which fired obliquely on the British, he received a shot in the right shoulder: he requested his aid-de-camp, captain Henry Hampton, to put his sword into the scabbard and to direct a man to lead off his horse on which he was mounted, "say nothing about it, and request colonel Twiggs to take the command."

By repeated efforts of the enemy, the Georgians on the left were nearly turned, and their left flank gave way: colonel Winn advanced to support them. Tarlton was compelled to retire with precipitation, and was pursued by a party under major James Jackson, which took upward of thirty horses.

In this battle only one man, by the name of Rogers, from Wilkes county, was killed; and general Sumpter, and two privates were wounded. Of the British, ninety-two were killed and one hundred wounded; and Tarlton fled from the field with two hundred and eight men: he retreated two miles, where he met his remaining three hundred infantry and a piece of cannon, and encamped for the night.

The action closed in the afternoon, and soon afterward it began to rain. Colonel Twiggs directed the enemy's wounded to be collected; and as many of them as could be sheltered, were laid in the houses. Calculating that Tarlton would renew the action with his increased force, Twiggs ordered the troops to retreat, and pass the Tyger river, where they would be unassailable; and left colonel Winn with his command on the battle ground until night; when Winn caused a number of fires to be lighted up, as indications of an encampment, and he retreated across the river. The ball in Sumpter's shoulder was extracted, and he being placed in a bier, suspended on two horses, the troops retreated slowly up the country, passing Broad river some distance, and dispersing in small parties to refresh themselves on such viands as they could find. Tarlton in his usual gasconade, called this defeat "a victory;" having cut up the "rebel rear-guard;" this other havock amongst "the rebels," he states at "one hundred killed," and of that number, were three colonels; while in fact there was only one man killed, and the general and two men wounded.* Tarlton acknowledged that the Americans had behaved with humanity toward his wounded. On his retreat to Winnsborough, he made captive a number of old men and stout boys, and carried them to head-quarters,

* See Tarlton's report to lord Cornwallis in the *London Chronicle*.

as trophies won in the recent action; many of his captives however, proved their loyalty, and obtained their liberty; the others were doomed to a tedious imprisonment in Camden gaol. In order to mark his route of retreat, so that it should be remembered, he hanged Mr. Johnston, a respectable man, and the father of a numerous family of young children.

To the friends of independence, in South-Carolina and Georgia, a ray of hope appeared from the north. General Nathaniel Greene was hourly expected with re-enforcements of continental troops, to take command in the southern department of the United-States. The recent actions at Fish-dam ford and Blackstocks, inspired the militia with confidence in themselves, when opposed to the British troops, especially their cavalry, which had before appeared so formidable to them. The time had nearly arrived, when it became necessary for every man to resume his arms and select his party: neutrality had nearly worn out, and had become of little use in the protection of property or life. The unexampled cruelties and pillage, which had been practised and encouraged by the British, had drawn many into arms in their favour, however unwillingly; fearful that the struggles for independence would be unavailing. The best affected settlement to the cause of independence, in the neighborhood of Ninety-six, was that of Long-cane; to which colonels Clarke and M'Call turned their attention for recruits to their force, and to annoy the enemy about Ninety-six.

After resting for a few days, near Berwick's iron works, they advanced by an upper route toward Long-cane, early in December, and on the way, were joined by colonel Benjamin Few, with a part of the refugees from Georgia: the attention of this force was turned toward Ninety-six, and encamped on Long-cane creek. Colonel Few being the senior officer, assumed the command. The position of the encampment was favourable for the augmentation of their numbers, and the prospect was flattering that in a short time they would be sufficiently strong to confine the British within their strong hold.

Colonel Cruger, who commanded at Ninety-six, aware of the consequences which would result from permitting Few to remain unmolested in his position, determined to attack him in his camp; the irregularity of which, he was fully informed of, and hoped to take him by surprise. For this purpose, he detached lieutenant-colonel Allen with two hundred regular troops, two hundred loyalists, and fifty dragoons. The enemy were within three miles of Few's camp before he was apprized of their approach. Colonel Clarke, lieutenant-colonel M'Call, and major Lindsey, with one hundred Georgia and Carolina militia, were ordered to meet the enemy, commence the action, and sustain it until the main body could be brought up to their assistance. They advanced about one mile and a half and engaged the enemy's front, which was composed of royal militia. The action was lively for a short time, and Clarke sent an express to Few to hasten the march of the main body. In about ten minutes the loyalists retreated, some of them fled, and the remainder formed in the rear of the regular troops. Clarke received a wound in the shoulder, which was at first supposed to be mortal, and he was carried off the field.

Colonel Allen ordered the loyalists to commence and sustain the attack, until the regular troops were formed: when this was effected, the bayonet was presented and the loyalists were ordered to form in the rear and turn upon the American flanks. About this time, M'Call was wounded in the arm, and his horse killed, and he was so entangled by the horse falling upon him, that he narrowly escaped. The Americans retreated and were charged by the enemy's dragoons. Major Lindsey had fallen under three wounds, and was left on the ground; in that condition, captain Lang, of dragoons, fell upon him while he lay on the ground, chopped his head and arms in several places, and cut off one of his hands.

Fourteen Americans were killed, and seven wounded. Several of the wounded were killed, who lay upon the ground and were unable to make resistance; which accounts for the number

of wounded being less than that of the slain. The loss of the enemy was very trifling, and is not accurately known.

When the remains of colonel Clarke's command returned to the camp, they found colonel Few and the main body of the troops under orders for retreat, and ready to move off, without giving any previous intimation to those in advance, of such intention. Some harsh observations were made by some of the officers who had been engaged, relative to Few's courage; whether correct on that occasion is unknown: he had previously given proofs of courage and good conduct. He justified himself by saying, that the intelligence he received after colonel Clarke was engaged, induced a belief that the force of the enemy was so far superior to his own, that it would have been imprudent to have met them in a general engagement: but this was not considered as a justification for withholding from Clarke a notice of his intentions, or of making an effort to secure his retreat. The American force was five hundred men; the British was four hundred and fifty.

Colonel Clarke was placed upon a bier, supported by two horses, and with great difficulty conveyed to a place of safety. The Americans retreated to North Carolina, and during the confinement of colonel Clarke, by his wound, major John Cunningham commanded the Georgia troops.

Colonel Pickens, and other influential characters in Ninety-six district, had been urged to the resumption of their arms in the American cause. To these remonstrances, Pickens replied that his honour was pledged, and that he was bound by the solemnity of an oath, not to take up arms until the conditions of that protection were violated by the British, or those who acted under the royal government. But the time now approached, when the order of the British commander-in-chief was to be promulgated generally, its operations rigorously enforced, and neutrality no longer admissible. All those who refused to take up arms in support of the British government, were plundered of their property by parties of loyalists and British troops. Cap-

tain Dunlop's dragoons, united with parties of loyalists, made a general sweep over the country. Colonel Pickens' house was plundered of moveable property, and the remainder wantonly destroyed. M'Call's family was left without a change of clothing or bedding, and a halter put round the neck of one of his sons, by order of Dunlop, with threats of execution, to extort secrets of which the youth was ignorant. The conditions of protection were now broken on the part of the British, and colonel Pickens with many of his officers and men, determined to resume their arms in the defence of their property and the rights of their country. After this determination was taken by colonel Pickens, he had an interview with captain Ker, a British officer, at White-hall, to whom he made a disclosure of his intentions, and assigned his reasons. Ker strongly advised him against the measure, assuring him that his execution was certain in case he should thereafter fall into the hands of the British, and that he would literally fight with a halter around his neck: that though their countries were at war, he had given him proofs of personal friendship, and ardently hoped he might never fall into the power of the British government. Colonel Pickens replied, that he had honourably and conscientiously adhered to the rules laid down in his protection, but that he considered himself completely absolved from its obligations, by the plunder and wanton waste which had been committed upon his farm, and the insults and indignities which had been offered to his family. Captain Ker was requested to communicate these remarks to colonel Cruger, the commanding-officer at Ninety-six, and to thank him for his civilities, while he was under the protection of the British government.

This state of things was communicated to the commanding-officer of the Georgia troops, who made another diversion into the neighbourhood of Ninety-six to favor the assemblage of Pickens and his friends in that quarter. From the friendly disposition which general Williamson had evinced to the families of those who had espoused and adhered to the cause of

their country, the reality of his attachment to the royal government was considered doubtful; Pickens and the other chiefs determined to seize his person; which was accomplished at Williamson's residence, at White-hall, by a small party, who conveyed him to the encampment on Long-cane: his defection was ascertained; and by negligence, he was suffered to make his escape.

Pickens being the senior colonel in Ninety-six district, succeeded Williamson in the rank of brigadier-general, and directed the march of the troops toward Pacolate river, and joined general Morgan at Grindal's ford. Lieutenant-colonel M'Call was ordered to make a selection of forty-five men, to be equipped as dragoons, in which there were several Georgians, to act with colonel Washington's regiment. Major John Cunningham commanded the Georgia troops, under the orders of general Morgan.

Morgan detached colonel Washington with his regiment, with those enrolled by lieutenant-colonel M'Call and major Cunningham, with the Georgia troops, into the neighbouring country, to disperse some parties of the enemy. Frequent skirmishes occurred; and on one occasion he came up with a party of two hundred and fifty loyalists, at Hammond's old store, forty miles from Morgan's camp, and charged them: nearly two hundred of the enemy were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners.

When general Morgan learned that Tarleton was advancing on him, he recalled Washington to his head-quarters, at Grindal's ford; and believing that Tarleton would attempt to gain his rear, he retreated across the Pacolate on the 14th of January, toward the Cowpens, where he arrived on the evening of the 16th; and finding that Tarleton was gaining on him, he determined to repose his troops and wait the event.

Morgan's corps was composed of the 1st regiment of Maryland, of near four hundred men, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Howard; the militia companies of captains Triplet and Tait, which were equal to regular troops, and consisted of about one hundred men; Washington's dragoons, consisting of eighty

men, with M'Call's militia dragoons, forty-five in number; and three hundred and fifty of the Georgia and North and South-Carolina militia, commanded by general Pickens; making a total of nine hundred and seventy-five men.

Before day-light Morgan's videttes gave notice of Tarleton's approach; and the order of battle was immediately formed on an elevated ground, in an open wood, with a slight hollow way passing through it from left to right: the first corps was composed of the militia, under general Pickens, and formed in advance of the hollow way about two hundred yards; from this corps two others of select troops were formed, one of Georgians, under major Cunningham, and the other from the North and South-Carolinas, under major M'Dowell, and placed one hundred and fifty yards in advance of the first corps; the second corps was composed of the Maryland regiment, Triplet's and Tait's companies, and captain Beale's company of Georgia militia; which was formed fifty yards in advance of the hollow way, with Triplet's, Tait's, and Beale's on the right; and the third corps under colonel Washington, composed of his dragoons, and those of M'Call, was formed in the rear of the hollow way behind an eminence, and held in reserve. The custom of militia warfare, was to get behind trees where they could shelter their bodies and fire from the side; general Morgan ordered them to adopt this mode, and when charged by the enemy's cavalry, that two should hold their fire in reserve. General Morgan was assured, that the militia who were present would do their duty, so far as it was practicable when acting against regular troops, as their officers had witnessed their bravery on former occasions.

Tarleton's corps was composed of two hundred and fifty of the legion cavalry, the legion and light infantry, some artilleryists, with two four pounders, the 7th regiment, and a battalion of the 71st regiment; making a total of one thousand select infantry and artillery, and two hundred and fifty cavalry: his line of march was his order of battle; the light and legion infantry,

and the 7th regiment, with the artillery in the centre, with a captain and fifty dragoons on each flank, composed his van, and the battalion of the 71st regiment, and one hundred and fifty dragoons, composed his rear and reserve.

Early in the morning of the 17th, the British van pursued their march until they approached within one hundred and fifty yards of the American advanced corps, under Cunningham and M'Dowell: Tarleton ordered his van to display, and before the line was completely formed, he ordered it to advance and commence the action, without waiting for his reserve to come up and take their station. From his superior numbers, and the quality of his troops, he calculated on a certain and easy victory.

The American advanced corps, under Cunningham and M'Dowell, opened their fire and supported it with animation, under a brisk fire from the British, until the bayonet was presented, when they retired and took their posts in the intervals left for them, in the front line under Pickens. The British advanced, firing, and with loud shouts for approaching victory: Pickens received them with a firmness, with which they were unaccustomed from that description of troops, until the British charged them with the bayonet; when Pickens ordered a retreat to the post assigned to them, on the left of the continental troops. As the militia retreated, they were charged by the British light dragoons of the advance; by which they were unable to form on the left, and they continued to retreat toward the reserve under Washington. Howard received the British van with firmness; a warm fire ensued, and the advance of the enemy was not with such a quick step. At this time the British reserve had got up, and were ordered by Tarleton to advance and turn Howard's right: Howard ordered Triplet, Tait, and Beale, to wheel backward on their left, and face the turning enemy; but this order being misunderstood, the whole of the second corps faced about and retired in good order. Morgan perceiving the movement of the continental troops, and that they were retiring in good order and undismayed, and conjecturing the movement to have origi-

nated in mistake, rode up to Howard and in a loud tone of voice, pointing to the rising ground in the rear of the hollow way, informed him that was the ground which he wished him to occupy, and to face about. The British perceiving that the continental troops retreated, shouted victory, and advanced rapidly and in disorder, within thirty yards of Howard's rear, when that officer ordered his troops to face about and fire: this turn of Howard's, so unexpected by the enemy, caused their fears to take the place of the joy with which his retreat had inspired them: the moment was critical, and Howard ordered the drums to beat the charge—the inspiring roll was promptly obeyed: Morgan ordered the reserve to advance and charge the British dragoons, who were cutting the militia, which was obeyed with promptness and effect; the militia rallied and advanced on Howard's right, and faced the enemy's reserve; the British infantry, of the van, retreated in confusion; the corps of artillery, with two pieces of cannon, were taken; Howard turned upon the British infantry of reserve, who surrendered, and major M'Arthur, the chief of the battalion of the 71st regiment, yielded his sword to general Pickens; and major James Jackson, of Georgia, who acted as major of brigade to Pickens, accompanied M'Arthur and introduced him to general Morgan. The retiring enemy were pressed in pursuit: the defeat was so sudden, that the British cavalry of reserve had never been brought into action, and remained unbroken: Washington attacked them, and for a short time the contest was severe and bloody; Howard advanced, and the remainder of the enemy fled with precipitation. It was Washington's custom, to be in advance of his troops in the day of battle; perceiving that he was near forty yards ahead, with only a small waiter near him, Tarleton with two of his officers, wheeled on him: Washington broke his sword, and was defending himself; the waiter drew a pistol and wounded one of them, and sergeant-major Perry advancing to the relief of his colonel, parried a cut which was made at him, and disabled the sword-arm of the officer. Tarleton aimed a thrust at Washington, which was parried; upon

which Tarleton wheeled and discharged a pistol at him, and wounded his horse. The pursuit was continued several miles.

The British sustained a loss of ten commissioned officers, and above a hundred non-commissioned officers and privates killed; and nearly two hundred, of all ranks, wounded; and upward of six hundred, including the wounded, were taken prisoners. Two field pieces, eight hundred muskets, two stand of colours, thirty-five baggage waggons, and one hundred dragoon horses, fell into the possession of the victors.

The American loss, on this occasion, was eleven men killed, and sixty-one wounded; of the former, three, and of the latter, five, were Georgians.

The position of Cornwallis, on Turkey creek, was thirty miles from the Cowpens, whither Tarleton had promised to escort general Morgan to dinner: the two positions were equidistant from Ramshauer's mill, on the south fork of the Catawba river, where Morgan must pass in retreat, by the upper route; and from the rapidity of Tarleton's movement, calculations were made that Cornwallis would be apprised of the defeat in three hours. There was no time to be lost: Morgan left the wounded on the field of battle, under the protection of a flag, with surgeons and nurses to take care of them; destroyed the baggage he had taken, and commenced a rapid retreat, directing the militia to take charge of the prisoners, and proceed higher up toward the mountains.

After the action, colonel Howard, in conversing with major M'Arthur, expressed his surprise at the precipitate, desultory manner, in which the British troops were brought into action; the gallant Scot observed, "that nothing better could have been expected, when troops were commanded by a rash foolish boy."

Majors Cunningham and Jackson, with the Georgia troops, continued under the command of general Pickens, and were engaged in several skirmishes during the march of general Greene through North-Carolina, and the destruction of a party of loyalists at Haw river, who were assembling under colonel Piles to join lord Cornwallis.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL PICKENS was ordered to return to South-Carolina, and endeavour to narrow the limits of the British at Ninety-six, and was joined on his march by colonel Elijah Clarke, who had recovered from his wound. As Pickens was pursuing his march, he received intelligence that major Dunlop, with seventy-five British dragoons, had been detached from Ninety-six into the country, on a foraging party: Pickens detached Clarke and M'Call, with a suitable force, to attack him. On the 21st of March they came up with Dunlop, who had halted at Beattie's mill, on Little river. Clarke sent a party to take possession of a bridge, over which Dunlop must pass in retreat, and with the main body advanced and attacked him by surprise. Dunlop retired into the mill and some out-houses, but which were too open for defence against riflemen; recollecting, however, his outrageous conduct to the families and friends of those by whom he was attacked, he resisted for several hours, until thirty-four of his men were killed and wounded; himself among the latter; when a flag was hung out and they surrendered. Dunlop died the ensuing night. The British account of this affair, stated that Dunlop was murdered by the guard after he had surrendered; but such was not the fact, however much he deserved such treatment.

Having received intelligence of the battle at Guilford Court-house, and of the intentions of general Greene to advance into South-Carolina, Clarke proceeded into Georgia with his troops, accompanied by M'Call and a part of his regiment from South-Carolina. About the 12th of April, both these officers were seized with the small pox: Clarke took a retired situation, with a suitable guard, until he recovered; during which time, the command of the Georgia troops was confided to lieutenant-colonel Micajah Williamson. M'Call returned into Carolina, and died under the disease.

When the Georgians returned into their country, they dispersed into parties of ten and twelve men each, so as to spread themselves over the settlements, and appointed Dennis' mill, on Little river, for the place of rendezvous. When these small parties entered the settlements where they had formerly resided, general devastation was presented to their view; their aged fathers, and youthful brothers, had been hanged and murdered; their decrepid grandfathers were incarcerated in prisons, where most of them had been suffered to perish in filth, famine, or disease; and their mothers, wives, sisters, daughters, and young children, had been robbed, insulted, and abused; and were found by them in temporary huts, more resembling a savage camp than a civilized habitation. The indignant sigh burst from the heart of the war-worn veteran, and the manly tear trickled down his cheek, as he embraced his suffering relatives. There is damning proof of the truth of this unvarnished tale; and the reader may imagine the feelings of the Georgian of that day, and the measure of his resentment. Mercy to a loyalist who had been active in outrage, became inadmissible, and retaliative carnage ensued.

Captains Johnston and M'Kay, with a few active militia, had taken a position in the swamp of Savannah river, and were employed in watching the communication between Augusta and Savannah. They had frequently intercepted boats, laden with provisions and other stores, which they took and secured or destroyed. Colonel Brown detached an officer, with twenty-five regular troops and twenty militia, to dislodge them. M'Kay hearing of the advance of the party, took an advantageous position near Matthews' bluff, and attacked them, though much superior in number to his own, killed the officer and fifteen of his men, and compelled the remainder to retreat precipitately to Augusta.

Hearing that the Americans had entered Georgia, and that colonel Harden, with a body of American militia, was in the neighbourhood of Coosawhatchie, colonel Brown ordered his

provincials to repair to Augusta to defend it; but they were so covered with crimes, that they had no inclination to be cooped up in a garrison; fearing that they might be taken by assault, and receive the punishment due to them for their former offences: many of them fled to the Indians, and joined them in warfare against the frontier settlements. When Brown had collected his troops, he determined to strike at Harden, and selected such regular troops, militia, and Indians, as the safety of the post would admit, and marched for that purpose: he detached a party under captain Wylly, into Carolina to reconnoitre, which approached Harden's camp and retired, with information to Brown of Harden's advancing on him, and requesting him to hasten his march. Brown was joined by Wylly, and encamped in a field, at Wiggins' hill, for the night. Harden was joined by Johnston and M'Kay, and had advanced within a mile of the place where he encamped, not knowing of the near approach of Brown; but in a few hours he was informed of it, and advanced to attack him by surprise. Brown had been apprised by Wylly of the dangerous position which he had taken, and that it was necessary, when opposing an officer of Harden's enterprise, to be on the alert; but Brown, always imprudent, and possessing no quality of an officer but courage, retired to a house a few hundred yards distant from his camp, and went to sleep. By some intelligence, Brown's officers were apprised of Harden's approach, and were forming their ranks, when Harden's troops commenced the attack. The contest lasted half an hour, when overpowered by superiority of numbers and discipline, Harden was compelled to retreat, which he effected in good order, and carried off his wounded.

The American loss was seven killed and eleven wounded; amongst the latter, was captain Johnston. The loss of the enemy was about equal to that of the Americans. Colonel Harden retreated to an island in Coosawhatchie swamp, where the wounded were left until they recovered. William Rawls, Cotton Rawls, and Leonard Tanner furnished them for some time with pro-

visions and other necessities; but unfortunately, Tanner was taken prisoner by some neighbouring loyalists, while he was engaged in this service, and murdered because he would not discover the place where the wounded were concealed.

Several prisoners were taken after the skirmish at Wiggins' hill, by parties of the enemy detached by Brown: one of them by the name of Wylly, who had piloted Brown's detachment to Matthews' bluff, and whom they alleged, had treacherously led the detachment into that difficulty: on the bare supposition, Brown turned him over to the Indians, who ripped him open with their knives in his presence, and tortured him to death.

Mrs. M'Kay, a widow, had fled with her family, from her residence at Darien, in Georgia, into South-Carolina, for refuge: her elder son, Rannal M'Kay, a youth of seventeen years of age, was with Harden at Wiggins' hill, and was taken prisoner. Mrs. M'Kay, hearing of the captivity of her son, repaired to Brown's camp, having furnished herself with some refreshments, which she intended to present to Brown, as a mean of obtaining more ready access. Brown received the refreshments, but turned a deaf ear to her entreaties, and would not permit her to have an interview with her son, whose fate she already foresaw: she was forced without the centries. Captain Rannal M'Kinnon, a Scots officer, who was a soldier of honour, and unused to murderous warfare, remonstrated with Brown against hanging the youth, and gave Mrs. M'Kay some assurances that her son would be safe. Brown returned that night and encamped at Wiggins' hill, and caused a pen to be made of fence rails, about three feet high, in which he placed his prisoners, and covered it over with the same materials. Mrs. M'Kay had followed to the camp, but was not permitted to enter it; and captain M'Kinnon, the advocate of humanity, was ordered on command.

On the ensuing morning, the prisoners, Rannal M'Kay, Britton Williams, George Smith, George Reed, and a Frenchman, whose name is not known, were ordered forth to the gallows;

and after hanging until they were nearly dead, they were cut down and delivered to the Indians, who scalped them and otherwise abused their bodies in their accustomed savage manner.

The fate of young M'Kay inspired his brother, a youth of fifteen, to join his countrymen and add his strength in avenging the murder of his brother.

On the 16th of April, lieutenant-colonel Williamson's detachment assembled at the appointed rendezvous, on Little river, and marched to Augusta, where he was joined by colonel Baker, with the southern militia; and by captains Dunn and Irwin, with a few men from Burke county. Colonel Hammond and major James Jackson, were employed in embodying the militia of Carolina, near Augusta, and joined them a few days afterward. Notwithstanding the exertions of those officers, their assembled force was but little superior in numbers to their adversary, and vastly inferior in discipline and military equipment.

Williamson took a position at twelve hundred yards distance from the British fortifications, and fortified his camp; and by the exaggerated reports which Brown received of his strength, he was deterred from attacking him. If Brown had moved out and attacked him, the issue would probably have been favourable to the British, as they had the advantage of artillery.

Augusta was placed in a state of blockade until the middle of May, when the troops became discouraged by the delay of the expected assistance, and were on the point of abandoning their ground. Major Jackson had been accustomed to harrangue the militia in their hours of difficulty and despondence, and on this occasion his enthusiastic eloquence had the desired effect, and retained them at their post. About the 15th of May, colonel Clarke had so far recovered from the small pox as to resume his command, and brought a re-enforcement of one hundred men to the camp.

About the time of Clarke's arrival, major Dill collected a party of loyalists, with intention of joining Brown and forcing

the Americans to raise the siege. Clarke detached captains Shelby and Carr, with a party of mountaineers and Georgians, to advance on Dill; whom they attacked by surprise, at Walker's bridge, on Brier creek; killed and wounded a number, and dispersed the rest, without sustaining any loss.

When Clarke believed himself secure against the necessity of a retreat, he sent the horses of his troops, with a guard of six men, to Beech island, below Augusta, where there was plenty of forage to be had: Brown was informed of this circumstance, and sent a detachment of regular troops, militia, and Indians, down on the river bank, and in canoes, to cut off the guard and bring off the horses. Clarke was apprised of the detachment, and ordered Shelby and Carr in pursuit of it. Brown's detachment succeeded in the enterprise, murdered the guard, and were returning with the booty; when Shelby and Carr, informed of the result, lay wait in a thicket, near Mrs. Bugg's plantation, and attacked them; and following the example which had just been set before them by the enemy, they spared the life of none who fell into their hands: nearly half of the detachment of the enemy were killed, and the rest ran away, and the property recovered without loss.

Clarke was unfurnished with cannon, but had picked up an old four pounder in the field, which had been thrown away by the British; believing it might be converted to use, he had it mounted, and employed a black-smith to form pieces of iron into the shape of balls; and commenced his approaches by constructing a battery at four hundred yards distance from Grierson's fort, and placed his gun upon it. Powder was so scarce, that orders were given not to use it when the sword could be substituted. He sent an express to general Pickens, stating his situation, and requesting assistance.

General Pickens, with about four hundred men of Anderson's regiment, was manœuvring between Augusta and Ninety-six to prevent the garrison of that place from re-enforcing Brown. Colonels Branham and Hayes, were hovering on the

eastward of Ninety-six to recruit their forces and intercept supplies. Colonel Hayes, with forty-five men, was attacked by a detachment of provincials from Ninety-six, commanded by major Cunningham, and after defending himself in a house until resistance was useless, he surrendered on conditions, as prisoners of war: their arms were to be left in the house, and his men were to march out and surrender; which being done, they were every man murdered.

The Indians had re-commenced hostilities on the frontier of Georgia and South-Carolina, which obliged general Pickens to weaken his force, by detachments against them and the loyal refugees. Pickens had informed general Greene of the situation of things at Augusta, and requested aid, which was promised him.

Colonel Henry Lee's legion consisted of three troops of cavalry, commanded by captains Egleston, O'Neal, and Armstrong, and three companies of infantry, commanded by captains Carnes, Rudulph, and Handy. He was joined by major Eaton, with part of a battalion of North-Carolina militia, and after the reduction of fort Granby, in South-Carolina, was ordered to form a junction with Pickens and Clarke, at Augusta. After a rapid march of seventy-five miles, in less than three days, Lee reached the vicinity of Augusta. He had kept in his front captain Ferdinand O'Neal, with a detachment of dragoons, to collect provisions for his legion and acquire intelligence. From this active officer he received the pleasing information of the arrival of the royal annual presents at fort Galphin, on the north side of Savannah river, twelve miles below Augusta, for the Cherokee and Creek Indians. The boats containing the goods had a small guard, who had been attacked by some American militia, ordered from Augusta for that purpose, and had driven them into the fort; but their number was not sufficient to dislodge them, and the boats lay under cover of the fort. Colonel Lee filed off with captain Rudulph's company, some other detachments of the legion, and a field piece, to take pos-

session of this valuable prize, consisting of ammunition, salt, rum, and many other articles very much wanted by the American army.

The fort was a small stockade around Galphin's house, garrisoned by two companies of colonel Brown's infantry. Lee had taken such precautions, that neither Brown nor the commanding-officer at fort Galphin, had any knowledge of his approach, which he hastened by mounting the infantry behind his dragoons. By a rapid march, he reached the vicinity of the fort early in the morning of the 21st of May, and halted in a pine barren, skirting a field which surrounded the fort: and here prepared for the assault. Preferring stratagem to the exposure of his troops, he dismounted some of his militia, who were ordered to make a feint attack in an opposite direction from his main body, with the hope of drawing out a considerable portion of the garrison in pursuit of them. Captain Rudolph was ordered to rush upon the fort, while the remainder of his infantry, supported by a troop of dragoons, were ordered to shield his militia from the enemy. The whole plan succeeded without the loss of a man, except one who died from fatigue, and the garrison with its contents and the valuable Indian stores, fell into his hands. Three or four of the enemy were killed, and a few escaped who took to the woods. Major Eaton, with the residue of Lee's legion, formed a junction with general Pickens at the Cherokee ponds, six miles from Augusta. After the reduction of fort Galphin, colonel Lee detached major Eggleston, with the cavalry, with orders to cross Savannah river at Wallicon's ferry, three miles below Augusta, and form a junction with general Pickens and colonel Clarke. When Eggleston reached Augusta, he summoned Brown to surrender, informing him of the near approach of a formidable force from general Greene's army, under the command of colonel Lee, and the investure of Ninety-six. Colonel Brown treated the flag with contempt, refused to give a written answer to the letter, and requested that communications upon that subject might not be repeated.

The town of Augusta is situated on the south side of Savannah river, upon a level plain, which terminates in thick low woods, interspersed with swamps and lagunes. Fort Cornwallis, which was the principal work, was situate on the north-west side of the town, about two hundred yards from its centre, and about one hundred from the river, having a complete command of the ground to the water's edge, and in every other direction, to the distance of eight hundred yards. To the west is a lagune, which communicates through a deep gully with the river. On the western margin of this gully was fort Grierson, about half a mile west of fort Cornwallis.

On the 23rd of May a junction was formed by Pickens, Lee, and Clarke: after reconnoitering the ground and the British works, it was determined to dislodge Grierson, and to destroy or intercept him in his retreat to fort Cornwallis; and arrangements were accordingly made without loss of time for executing the plan. General Pickens and colonel Clarke were to attack the fort upon the north-west, with the militia; major Eaton's battalion, and some Georgia militia under major Jackson, were to pass down the river and attack the work upon the north-east; while Lee, with his infantry and artillery, took a position south of the fort, so as to support Eaton or keep Brown in check if he should make a sortie to save Grierson's command, in case he should attempt to evacuate his work, and retreat to fort Cornwallis. The cavalry under Eggleston were posted in the skirt of the woods, to the south of Lee, ready to fall upon Brown's rear if he attempted to sally out.

Discovering that Grierson was in a critical situation, Brown drew out a part of his command and advanced with two field pieces, with the appearance of giving battle, to save Grierson, who was warmly assailed by Pickens and Eaton: Lee opposed Brown, counteracted his plan, and confined his interposition to a distant cannonade, without much effect on either side. Grierson finding that resistance would be vain, determined to evacuate his fortress and throw his command into fort Corn-

wallis. With this view he threw open the gate, passed down the gully to the river bank, and under cover of it, some of his troops escaped into the fort.

In this hazardous retreat, thirty of Grierson's men were killed, and forty-five wounded and taken prisoners: among the former was his major. Grierson was killed by one of the Georgia riflemen after he had surrendered, in consequence of his having rendered himself peculiarly odious to the Georgians by his cruel practices. A reward was offered by the American commanders for apprehending the person who shot him, but no one made the discovery. The imagination need not be much wearied in conjecturing by whom this act was committed, when it is turned to the treatment received by the venerable Alexander. Among the Americans who fell, was the gallant major Eaton, who had on all occasions sought the post of danger.

Brown finding that he would be closely invested, applied himself to strengthen his fortress; and every part which required amendment was repaired with industry: he placed the aged Alexander, and others who had been long in captivity, in one of the bastions most exposed to the fire of the rifle batteries; one of which was manned by captain Samuel Alexander's company: thus the father was exposed to be killed by the hand of his son; but he escaped uninjured.

The preparations, on the part of the enemy, could not be counteracted. The Americans had but one field piece, and all that could be done was by close investure and regular approaches; therefore, all the tools which could be collected from the neighbouring farms, were brought into camp, and with those taken at fort Galphin, the Americans commenced their approaches near the river bank, extending it towards the enemy's left.

The condition of the enemy's wounded, required medicine and hospital stores, which could not be furnished from the American camp. The senior officer solicited permission to send a flag to colonel Brown for a supply. The American command-

ers had no hesitancy in granting the request, but they disliked the idea of subjecting their flag to a second insult; recollecting the answer given by colonel Brown to major Eggleston. The principles of humanity however prevailed, and a British officer was permitted to be the bearer of the flag, and a letter from Pickens and Lee, assuring Brown that no consideration affecting themselves or their troops, would have led to the condescension of renewing a correspondence, which he had lately rejected with so much insolence and contempt. Brown returned a polite answer by the prisoner, excusing himself by referring to some previous altercations with colonel Clarke.

Colonel Lee suggested the plan of raising a sort of tower, such as he had used to great advantage in the reduction of fort Watson, in South-Carolina. It was simply a square pen of logs, raised about thirty feet high and filled with combustibles; proof against the enemy's artillery, and sufficient to sustain a six pounder. The tower was thrown up under cover of an old framed house, which Brown had suffered to remain near the fort. On the night of the 28th, Brown sent out a detachment to force the Americans from their works: the onset was vigorous, and the guard was forced to retreat. Captain Handy met the enemy in the ditch, and for a few minutes the conflict was obstinate: Handy pressed the bayonet, and forced the enemy to retreat to the fort. Lee's infantry, after this sortie, were exclusively employed in defending the American works at night. Another attempt was made the succeeding night in the same quarter, and for a considerable time the struggle for the possession of the ditches was about equal. Captain Rudolph re-enforced the guard, cleared the trenches with the bayonet, and forced the enemy, with some loss, to make a precipitate retreat.

On the 1st of June the tower was raised as high as the enemy's works, and Brown anticipating the fatal consequences which would result from its completion; directed his attention to the destruction of it. On the other hand, the besiegers deter-

mined to oppose their whole force against any effort which might be made to drive them from their works.

Pickens took command of one division of the militia in person, supported by Handy's company of infantry; and Clarke took command of the other, supported by Rudolph's. About ten o'clock at night, Clarke's division were charged upon by about one third of the British troops: the conflict was furious for some time; Rudolph presented the bayonet, and the enemy retired. While this detachment was engaged against Clarke and Rudolph, Brown sallied out with his remaining force against Pickens, where the contest was equally severe, until Handy pressed the bayonet, which forced Brown to retreat. Upon this occasion, the loss on both sides exceeded all which had occurred during the siege, except in the evacuation of fort Grierson.

Finding that the work of the besiegers could not be destroyed by fair combat, Brown resorted to stratagem. He sent out a Scotch sergeant, under the cloak of desertion, with instructions to use the most effectual means that occurrences might present, to burn down the tower. The house standing between it and the fort had been intentionally left undemolished by Brown, imagining that it might be blown up when occupied by the American troops. Preparatory to this plan, Brown had opened the communication to the house, and placed under it the necessary quantity of powder. The pretended deserter suggested some new plans in using the tower more advantageously, by blowing up the magazine of the besieged; but Lee was suspicious of him, and ordered him to be withdrawn and put in charge of the quarter guard. Early in the night, all the houses in the vicinity of the fort were burned by Brown, except two, under one of which the *infernal machine* was placed. The houses were examined in the night by order of Pickens, supposing that riflemen could be advantageously placed in their upper stories, when the assault was made upon the besieged: Brown imagining from the preparations of the besiegers, that the assault was

to be made at the dawn of the next day, and that the militia riflemen were already in the house, blew it up about three o'clock. Fortunately for the riflemen, they had not yet taken possession of the houses, consequently no lives were lost.

On the 31st of May, Brown had been summoned to surrender, but he replied that it was his duty and inclination to defend the place to the last extremity. On the morning of the 3rd of June, another opportunity was afforded him, which he also rejected.

During the day an incessant and galling fire was kept up from the rifle batteries, which were raised so high as to enable the besiegers to unman the field pieces, and drive the enemy from the opposite bastions. The six pounder in the tower, had dismounted the enemies artillery, and rendered it useless. They were obliged to dig vaults in the ground within the fort, to secure themselves from the fire of the American riflemen. The morning of the 4th, at nine o'clock, was destined for the assault: as the hour approached, and columns were arrayed waiting the signal to advance, a British officer appeared with a flag, and presented a letter at the margin of the trenches, addressed to general Pickens and colonel Lee, offering to surrender upon conditions, detailed in the communication. Some of the articles were exceptionable, and others were substituted and submitted to Brown as an ultimatum. The discussion produced one day's delay, which was gratifying to Brown, as he did not wish the surrender to be made upon the king's birth-day. These terms were finally agreed on, and the fort and garrison were surrendered on the morning of the 5th of June to captain Rudolph, who was appointed to take possession, and the British troops marched out and laid down their arms. The British loss during the siege, was fifty two killed, and three hundred and thirty-four, including the wounded, were made prisoners of war. The American loss was sixteen killed, and thirty-five wounded, seven mortally.

Brown and his officers were placed under a strong guard of

continental troops, commanded by captain Armstrong, for their safety. Young M'Kay, the brother of the one who was executed by Brown, sought an opportunity of putting Brown to death; but the guard prevented him from executing vengeance, for the murder of his brother. Mrs. M'Kay was said to have armed herself for the same purpose, and asked leave of the guard, who escorted him to Savannah, to speak to him; but they would not permit her to do so, until she gave the requisite assurances, that she would not injure him: when her request was communicated to Brown, he observed that he was not afraid to face men in the field, but was apprehensive of the consequences of encountering an enraged woman. She reminded him of the murder of her son, in terms mild and pungent; but feelings had long been banished from his remorseless bosom, and their place inhabited by a fiend of darkness.

Before Brown surrendered fort Cornwallis, at Augusta, Waters, Tillet, and several others had penetrated the frontiers with parties of Indians. Anticipating this event, captain George Barber had been ordered to cover the forts, and watch and disperse such parties as might be found on their route. Barber was an active officer, and executed the duties assigned him with success and honour.

A quantity of Indian goods, and other stores, were found in fort Cornwallis, liable to distribution among the captors; small portions of which were distributed among the men, so as not to encumber them with an extra portion of baggage, while their military services were required. The remainder of the goods, which fell to the Georgia troops, were put into the hands of John Burnet, who was directed to remove them to the western part of the state until a more convenient time to make the dividend. Burnet had made great pretensions of attachment to the American interest, and under pretence of harassing the enemy in the lower country, had visited the most wealthy settlements south of Savannah, where he had been indiscriminate in the pillage of negroes and other property, from friends and ene-

mies. His party had secreted in the vicinity of Augusta, about sixty negroes: to give plausibility to his plans, he pretended that his intentions were to throw these negroes, which he alleged were taken from the enemy, into the general stock with the goods, and make an equal dividend of the whole, among the Georgia troops who had suffered most by the effects of the war. The officers suffered themselves to be duped by this plausible pretence, and the whole was delivered into his care. He proceeded on his way toward the mountains, unsuspected, under pretext of carrying the property out of the reach of re-capture by the enemy. Having so far succeeded, he disclosed to a few who were with him his villanous plan of carrying off the booty and dividing it among themselves. They crossed the mountains, passed through Kentucky to Ohio river, procured boats and passed down to Natchez, where they divided the fruits of their knavery.

Immediately after the surrender of fort Cornwallis, general Pickens and colonel Lee, marched with their troops, and part of the Georgians, to Ninety-six, which had been closely invested by general Greene. When they arrived at Ninety-six, the prisoners who had been captured at Augusta, were marched in view of the besieged, to depress their ardour for resistance, and induce colonel Cruger to surrender. General Greene, with the main body of the southern army, had advanced to Ninety-six, and encamped before it on the 23rd of May. Regular approaches by saps, were necessarily resorted to, under the direction of colonel Kosciusko, chief of engineers. On the 3rd of June, three regiments from Ireland arrived at Charleston, to reinforce lord Rawdon, who commenced his march at the head of two thousand troops, to the relief of the garrison at Ninety-six. General Sumpter was directed to check his progress, by harassing his front, but without effect. An express reached colonel Cruger, informing him of Rawdon's approach to his relief. As general Greene was unable to meet Rawdon, he determined on an assault, but the works were unassailable, and the forlorn

hope, conducted with great courage and perseverance by lieutenants Duval and Sheldon on the 18th of June, proved unsuccessful. General Greene raised the siege and retired toward North-Carolina. Rawdon pursued him a short distance, and finding that Greene had taken a strong position, he retired toward Ninety-six, where he rested two days, and then returned to the Congaree river, with one thousand men. The British force thus divided, encouraged general Greene to follow Rawdon toward Charleston. Colonel Cruger was left in command at Ninety-six, and after affording time for the loyalists to remove their property and join him, he destroyed the works, burned the village, and retreated to Orangeburg, where he formed a junction with Rawdon.

When general Greene raised the siege, he ordered major James Jackson, who had been left in command at Augusta, to demolish his works and join him. Jackson attempted to retreat between Ninety-six and Camden, but finding that route occupied by the enemy, he changed his course toward Wilkes county, to join colonel Clarke. Hearing that Cruger had retreated, he returned and re-occupied his former position at Augusta.

In July, two small forts on Broad river were attacked and taken by James Tillet, with a party of loyalists and Indians. Eighteen men, women and children were murdered. Such of the women as were able to bear the fatigues of a rapid march, were carried into captivity and compelled to endure all the difficulties of a savage life.

The advantages which general Greene had derived from the service of legionary corps, composed of an equal number of cavalry and light infantry, induced him to order a body of this description to be raised in Georgia. In the active genius and enterprise of major James Jackson, he discovered the qualities necessary for the commanding-officer: accordingly he was appointed colonel of the Georgia legion, to consist of three companies of cavalry and two of infantry. This corps was filled without delay and equipped for service. Having gained pos-

session of the western division of Georgia, general Twiggs' attention was directed to the eastern. He ordered colonel Jackson to advance toward Savannah, and to take a position as near the enemy as his force would authorise; and to consult the safety of his command, and the advantages of his country, by advancing or retreating, as circumstances might require. A short time before Jackson marched from Augusta, a plot was discovered to have been formed by a part of his legion, to assassinate their commanding-officer, and carry off the governor and members of the executive council to the British in Savannah. The greater part of Jackson's legion was composed of British deserters and loyalists, who had changed their political opinions and quited the British service. After the plan had been digested by some of the non-commissioned officers and privates of the infantry, it was communicated to the British general Clarke in Savannah, who ordered a detachment to meet the revolvers, and to aid them in the execution of their purposes and escape. A faithful soldier named David Davis, who was the colonel's waiter, discovered that there was something in agitation of an extraordinary nature in the camp; and in order to obtain a knowledge of the secret, affected an extreme dislike to the colonel, and united with the conspirators in the use of the most unqualified language of abuse and disrespect for him. Supposing that Davis' situation would enable him to be of great service to the party, they lent a favourable ear to his observations. This stratagem had the desired effect, and drew from the traitors a disclosure of the diabolical purposes in contemplation, which he immediately communicated to his colonel, and informed him that no time was to be lost in checking its progress, as it was ripe for execution. The dragoons, who did not appear to have been engaged in the conspiracy, were ordered to mount their horses and repair to colonel Jackson's quarters, prepared for action. The infantry were ordered to parade without arms, under the pretence of searching for some clothing which had been stolen the preceeding night. The

dragoons were ordered in front, with drawn swords, and the ring-leaders seized and confined. A general court-martial was ordered to convene, and the culprits brought up for trial: John Goodgame, William Simmons, and one Honeycut, were ascertained to be the projectors and leaders in the conspiracy. The court found them guilty of treason, and sentenced them to suffer death, by being hanged, and they were executed accordingly. The remaining seventeen, turned states evidence, confessed their guilt, and were pardoned in consequence of their apparent penitence.

General Alured Clarke had ordered captain Brantley, with forty-five men, to advance within a few miles of Augusta, join the conspirators in the night, on the skirts of the town, and co-operate in the execution of the plan. Great rewards had been offered by the British general, in case of success, as stated by the witnesses before the court-martial; but fortune nipt its progress in the bud, and the leaders were hurled into eternity under the premeditated and detestable crimes of murder and treason.

Davis was complimented by the legislature for his attachment and fidelity to the cause of his country, and rewarded by a present of five hundred acres of valuable land, and an elegant horse, saddle and bridle. Captain Brantley had advanced as far as Spirit creek, about ten miles from Augusta, and skirmished with a small party, one mile and a half from general Twiggs' camp, killed one man and took off some horses. When Brantley was informed that the plan had been defeated, by the discovery of the plot, he retreated to Savannah.

While vigorous preparations were making, in the vicinity of Augusta, to annoy the British by land, the American privateers, and small government vessels, were actively employed upon the sea coast. The impolitic prohibitions, imposed by congress at an early period of the war, upon British importations of every description, had been very severely felt by the inhabitants, as well as by the army of the United States: clothing, ammuni-

tion, and many other articles, could not be procured for the army; but among the most material, was the article of salt: the demand for it, at one time in the southern states, was so great, that it was sold at the exorbitant price of two dollars per quart: those who were not able to procure it, substituted ashes and red pepper to save their meat. This idea was borrowed from the Indian tribes, who generally apply hickory ashes, and barbecue it over a slow fire. During the war, salt, sugar, and many other articles, could only be procured by capture from the enemy.

On the 14th of April, captains John Howell and John M'Cleir entered one of the southern inlets, unperceived by the enemy, and received intelligence that the British ship *Britania* lay in the harbour at the mouth of Ogeechee river. Under cover of a dark night, with oars muffled, the privateers were towed alongside and grappled with her; before the crew were aware of any danger, the assailants sprung upon the deck, and demanded a surrender; the ship was accordingly delivered up, without opposition. Captain Wade, of the *Britania*, and a boat's crew, had gone on shore to pass the night, and escaped capture. The ship was laden with rice, bound to the West-Indies, and only waited for a fair wind to go to sea. A pilot boat was also taken, and a pilot by the name of Saunders was put on board of the *Britania* to take her over the bar. On the 18th, the ship and privateers passed out at Ossabaw, with the intention of taking in a supply of water, at Jekyl island. On the 24th, about eight o'clock in the morning, off Doboy sound, the ship *Cormorant*, captain M'Evoy, hove in sight, and gave chase to the prize. Finding that the *Britania* could not escape, she struck her colours and dropped anchor. The boats were manned from the *Cormorant* to take possession, but before this could be effected, captain Howell ran down to the prize, fired upon the boats, and compelled them to retire to the *Cormorant*. The cable of the prize was ordered to be slipped, her sails and colours hoisted, and the vessel ran in close to the shore, until

she reached the south end of Blackbeard's island, where she was land-locked and brought to anchor. The advantage of shoal water, enabled the privateer to defend her until five o'clock in the afternoon. Apprehensive that an advantage might be taken, under cover of the night, by a force so superior, captain Howell ordered the ship to be abandoned and burned. The prisoners were landed on the island and paroled, and the American crew and prize-master, taken on board the privateer: after this was effected, the *Cormorant* put to sea. In this contest, captain Howell had one man killed, and one slightly wounded. The damage sustained by the *Cormorant*, if any, was not known.

Howell, M'Cleur, Spencer, and many others, continued to hover along the coast, and whenever any British merchant vessels attempted to go to sea without a convoy, they were almost certain to be captured; and in that event, were either burned or sent into a northern port. Many British vessels, from the West-Indies, laden with salt, and other articles in great demand, were captured by these privateers and taken into North-Carolina. The numerous inlets along the coasts of South-Carolina and Georgia, affording no great depth of water, enabled these privateers to escape capture when chased by large armed vessels.

The effects of this policy were severely felt by the British West-India islands, where great dependance was placed upon the southern states for supplies: disappointed in these expectations, they frequently suffered for want of subsistence; and there is no doubt of its having a share, in bringing the war to a conclusion.

On the morning of the 4th of June, captain Howell entered the inlet of Sunbury, where he found a negro man fishing. The negro informed him, that he had been sent out to catch fish for Mr. Kitchins, the collector at Sunbury, with whom a party of British civil and military officers were to dine, it being the king's birth-day. Kitchins' house was not more than four hundred yards from the fort, and the execution of the plan to cap-

ture the party, required caution and courage. Supposing that they would be completely off their guard, and that they would indulge in the free use of the glass, upon such an occasion, until a late hour; Howell selected twelve men, and proceeded up the river, under cover of the night, with muffled oars, and landed undiscovered: he surrounded the house, about eleven o'clock, and took twelve prisoners; among the number was colonel Roger Kelsall, who had insulted and otherwise ill-treated Howell, while he was a prisoner of war. The feelings of resentment, which actuated Howell at the first moment, determined him to carry off Kelsall and drown him; but the influence of the lady of the house, who begged that his life might be spared, induced him to change his determination, and the whole party were paroled upon the beach, who pledged themselves not to take up arms until they were regularly exchanged. Howell retired to his privateer unmolested, and without sustaining any loss. When Kelsall returned to the fort, he observed, that he expected nothing short of death, when he found himself in captain Howell's power; and that he had no right to look for such mild treatment as he had received.

On the 14th of July, captain M'Cleur took the sloop Brier, captain William Roberts master, laden with West-India produce, within full view of the British armed ships, lying in Charleston harbour, and carried her into North-Carolina. The next day after this capture, the crew of the Brier were paroled, and landed on Evans' island.

On the 12th of July, captain Antony manned his boats with twenty men, from his privateer, and proceeded up the Ogechee river, with the intention of bringing off a schooner, laden with rice; and succeeded in gaining possession of her, but the tide was too far spent before he could get her out, and his retreat was cut off by captain Scallan, in a British galley. Antony landed in his boats, and was obliged to take to the woods, with the loss of one man killed and one wounded. The next night he reached his privateer in a boat with the remainder of his party.

On the 18th of September, the brigantine *Dunmore*, captain Caldeleugh, mounting twelve guns, sailed from Sunbury for Jamaica: so soon as she crossed the bar, she was pursued and attacked by two American gallies, one of which was commanded by captain Braddock: a close fire was kept up from ten o'clock until two: several attempts were made to board the brigantine, but the enemy was favoured by the roughness of the sea. In one of these attempts, one of the gallies, which had sustained some injury in her rigging, had like to have been run down. At two o'clock, the rigging of the other galley sustained some injury, which enabled the brigantine to escape. It was imagined that the hull was much injured, and that she would be obliged to put back to Savannah for repairs. Braddock repaired damages and shaped his course for that port, where he again fell in with and attacked her; but she had the advantage of wind, and escaped into port with six feet water in her hold.

On the 20th of October, the American galley *Tyger*, captain M'Cumber, was lost off Hiltonhead, in a gale of wind: two of her crew were drowned, and the remainder, thirty in number, were saved in the boat. The next day they joined captain Howell, and took two schooners laden with rice, in which were thirty negroes, bound to the West-Indies; but before they could be carried off, they were attacked by an enemy's galley and two boats, with sixty men, commanded by captain Scallan. Howell set fire to the schooners and escaped with the negroes in his boats, but the enemy gained possession of the schooners, in time to save them from being burned. The exertions on the part of the enemy, to save the vessels, gave Howell time to escape.

About the 20th of October, general Twiggs' command became so formidable, as to authorise an advance toward the enemy. Colonels Jones, Irwin, Lewis, Carr, and many others, had been successfully employed in awakening the American spirit. Twiggs put his command in motion for the lower country, where general Greene had authorised the belief, that general Wayne would be ordered, at the head of a continental force,

so soon as he should be joined by general St. Clair, who was then on his march from the north. Colonel James Jackson was ordered in the advance, with part of his legion and captain M'Kay's riflemen. He had several skirmishes with the enemy, before he reached Ebenezer. The bridges were destroyed in his front, and his flanks were annoyed by small parties under cover of thick woods.

For the purpose of keeping open the communication between Savannah and the southern counties, the post had been held at Sunbury by the enemy, and an intermediate one at Ogechee ferry. On the 2nd of November, Colonel Jackson considered the surprise of the post at the ferry practicable; and determined to make the effort. In its vicinity, he fell in with a reconnoitring party and took them prisoners without giving alarm. Captain Johnson commanded the post at Ogechee, and imagined himself secure against surprise, supposing that he would be informed of any approaching danger, by the party which had fallen into Jackson's hands. Colonel Jackson's approach was made so suddenly upon the house, which was relied on as the place for defence, that the discovery and the demand for a surrender were simultaneous. Captain Johnson agreed to surrender, and was in the act of handing colonel Jackson his sword, when captain Goldsmith was killed by captain Patrick Carr. Johnson imagining, from this un-authorised act, that no quarter was to be given, sprung to the house, ordered his men to resume their arms and sell their lives as dear as possible. The house was defended with so much vigour, that Jackson was not only compelled to relinquish what he deemed a certain conquest, but to retreat with the loss of captain Grant and several of his men. The house was considered unassailable, and while Jackson was contemplating further operations, M'Kay's riflemen deserted him in search of plunder. He proceeded with his remaining force against Butler's house, about a mile from the ferry, where there were fifteen loyalists, commanded by captain Howell, who was sick in bed. The house

was defended for a short time, but the bold attempt of one of the Americans succeeded in setting it on fire. Howell and his party attempted to escape, but very few succeeded: six were killed and five taken prisoners; among the former was their commander.

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the British cavalry, was quartered about a mile from the ferry with a detachment of his regiment; here he was joined by Johnson, and a detachment of Florida rangers, under captain Wylie, amounting in all to eighty-five. Colonel Jackson's command was reduced to fifty-seven; and supposing the numbers in the enemy's ranks, to be more than they really were, he was unwilling to come to action, without the advantage of choosing his ground. Campbell's men being all mounted, he advanced and the attack was made about four o'clock. Jackson presented his infantry, under captain Greene, and covered his cavalry behind a hammock. The enemy charged upon the infantry, and broke through the centre. Jackson's dragoons pressed through the enemy in return, and separated them; but they rallied at a high fence, and Jackson was obliged to retreat to a swamp, to secure himself against such a superiority of numbers, from which several unsuccessful attempts were made to dislodge him. Under cover of the night, Jackson retired toward Ebenezer. His loss in these several skirmishes, was six killed, five wounded, and five taken prisoners. Among the former was captain Grant, and among the latter was captain Bugg. The enemy's loss was two captains, one cornet, and nine privates killed, and thirty wounded and taken prisoners.

General Twiggs had advanced to Burke county, where he received intelligence of large bodies of Indians and loyalists collecting on the western frontier of Carolina and Georgia. The general returned to Augusta, and ordered colonel Jackson to retreat to Burke county, where he was to be re-enforced, and advance against Ebenezer. Colonel Jackson's force being augmented to one hundred and fifty men, he was enabled to attack

the foraging parties of the enemy, with considerable effect. A number of negroes, and other property, belonging to the American refugees, fell into his hands and were restored to their former owners. The country was so completely swept of every kind of provision, that Jackson's command often suffered for want of subsistence; their rations were limited to boiled rice, and even that was sometimes obtained at great hazard, and in small quantities.

In the western division of Georgia, the condition of the people was no better than in the eastern. Safety was no where to be found, except within the walls of a fortress. The inhabitants were driven to the last extremity for want of subsistence. There was scarcely a bushel of corn, or any other kind of grain, to be found in any part of the country. Applications were made at the distance of fifty miles for small quantities of seed to put into the ground, and while the ploughman was engaged in cultivation, he was necessarily guarded by a party of soldiers. The forest furnished fine grass and cane, by which means horned cattle were kept in eatable condition, at all seasons of the year.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE loyalists and Indians, who had withdrawn the attention of general Twiggs from Savannah, were fallen in with by him near the Oconee and dispersed. As he returned through Burke county on the 13th of December, Messrs. Davis, Lewis, and Emanuel, all members of the executive council, had carelessly fallen in the rear and were overtaken by a party of loyalists, commanded by captain Brantley. Lewis and Emanuel escaped by the speed of their horses, but Davis was taken prisoner, and afterward murdered.

William Cunningham, who held the rank of major in the royal service, had fled with his banditti to the Cherokee nation. In the month of November they entered the frontiers of Georgia, united with parties of Indians. In his train was one John Crawford, who captured John Pickens, brother of the general, who was delivered up to the Indians and expired by torture.

The change of events once more put it in the power of the frontier militia to make a stroke at the Cherokee nation. The command of the Georgia troops for this purpose, was confided to major John Cunningham. He joined a part of general Pickens' brigade about the 1st of January. Pickens' command, including the Georgians, amounted to four hundred men. With this body, he made a rapid and cautious march into the eastern part of the nation, and laid every town, village, and settlement in ashes, on the east of the mountains. Not a vestige of stock or provisions of any kind was left for the deluded savages to subsist on, except some small supplies which had been hastily carried into the mountains and concealed. When this part of the general's plans had been accomplished, he attempted to pass over the mountains, but unfortunately a deep snow fell which compelled him to return. The general took in his route some towns on a western fork of the Hightower river, twenty miles distant from the place of encampment, during the snow

storm. He marched early in the morning, and reached the towns on both sides of the river the same afternoon. He threw out flanking parties to prevent the enemy from escaping; but there was only one house on which the snow was melted, consequently there was no other inhabited. In this house were a white man, a half breed, and an Indian. The white man was killed after he had swam the river; the other two were taken prisoners. After some inquiries the general ascertained that a body of Indians were collected in the mountains, and intended to give him battle. He replied that that was what he wished, and requested them to pilot him to the encampment for the purpose. This they declined, but conducted a party of his men to a place where some Indian corn was concealed; from whence a supply was obtained for the use of the army.

Some time before general Pickens embarked on this expedition, he communicated his intentions to general Rutherford, of North-Carolina, and to general Sevier, of Kentucky, and requested their co-operation. These officers had agreed to the plan of assailing the country at different points; but for some reasons unknown, they did not comply. As the general received no intelligence of the co-operation, he retired to the settlement.

The destruction of the Indian towns and property in this expedition, was only temporary in its effects. The retrograde motion of general Pickens' army, was construed into the fear of a general engagement. Colonel Robert Anderson, of general Pickens' brigade, obtained intelligence that an attack was to be made by a body of loyalists, Cherokees, and Creeks. Anderson communicated this information to colonel Clarke, and appointed Freeman's fort as the place of rendezvous on the 1st of April. Clarke repaired to the place of rendezvous with one hundred Georgians, where he was joined by Anderson with three hundred Carolinians. They marched early the next morning to the Oconee river, passed over it a short distance, where they halted to obtain further intelligence of the enemy. Parties of discovery were sent out in different directions, with orders

to avoid by every possible mean, being discovered by the enemy. Captain Black, who commanded one of these parties, had not proceeded more than a mile, before he fell in with the main body, but the discovery of each other was made at the same time. Black ordered a retreat toward the camp, and was pursued and fired on by the Indians, who appear to have had no information of a formidable force being so near them.

Colonel Clarke paraded immediately; advanced to the scene of action, and met Black on the retreat. When the enemy discovered the American force, they fled in the utmost confusion, and scattered in various directions so as to avoid a general engagement. Several of the Indians were killed, and two of the loyalists were taken prisoners and hanged for former offences. Captain Holliway, of Anderson's regiment, was killed in the pursuit, by a wounded Indian. This defeat and dispersion, had a temporary effect, and left the inhabitants for a few months, in the enjoyment of peace.

During the session of the legislature, in January, an act was passed for the confiscation of property, real and personal, belonging to such citizens of Georgia as had joined the enemy in the war against their native country; and the act extended to the banishment of their persons forever. This property was to be sold, and the proceeds passed to the credit of the state. Upon the credit of this fund, certificates were issued to the amount of twenty-two thousand one hundred pounds sterling, to meet the disbursements of the government; redeemable after the confiscated property was sold, at par, with gold and silver coin, upon which there was a fixed value in pounds, shillings, and pence. A Spanish milled dollar to be rated at four shillings and eight pence, and the value of gold estimated accordingly. Executive and judicial officers were appointed in conformity with the system established by the constitution, and salaries annexed to the several offices, to be paid in these certificates. A further sum of fifteen thousand pounds, was issued in certificates to pay off the arrears due to the militia.

The success of the American army, under the command of major-general Greene, in South-Carolina, enabled him to give the promised aid to Georgia. Early in February, general Anthony Wayne was ordered to Ebenezer, with one hundred of colonel Moylan's dragoons, commanded by colonel Anthony Walton White, to form a junction with colonel James Jackson; and was soon after joined by colonel Posey, with three hundred continental troops. The whole force was far inferior to the British garrison in Savannah; therefore general Wayne was obliged to limit his operations, to the annoyance of foraging and plundering parties of the enemy, which were generally composed of the royal militia. A select party of this description, formed the design of murdering captain M'Kay at his own plantation. The house was surrounded in the night, and the enemy fired through the logs into the bed, in which it was understood M'Kay usually slept. M'Kay was not at home, but his wife was in the bed and supposed to have been in sound sleep: the ball passed through her body, and she was found dead in the morning. She had an infant in her arms, but it was not injured.

Though general Wayne was instructed to act only on the defensive, he was to watch any advantage which might offer of carrying the town by a nocturnal assault. Brigadier-general Clarke lost no time in calling in his re-enforcements, to defend his extensive works in Savannah. With this view, so soon as he heard that Wayne was re-enforced at Ebenezer, he ordered in his detachments from the out-posts, and gave instructions to bring with them all the provisions and forage for which they could find conveyance; to burn the remainder and lay waste the country. Conflagration was accordingly applied, and for many miles from the sea-coast, between Sunbury and Savannah, the rich rice farms presented nothing but ruins. So complete was the destruction, that Wayne's army was in part subsisted from South-Carolina. The inhabitants westward of Augusta, were more distressed for want of subsistence than those adjacent to

the sea-coast. So pressing were their necessities, that Mr. John Werreat employed his negroes and boats for a considerable time, in carrying rice up the river to relieve them from absolute want.

Soon after general Wayne entered Georgia, governor Martin removed with his executive council from Augusta to Ebenezer, for the purpose of extending the limits of the civil authority, and giving confidence to the people in the success of the American cause.

On the 13th of February, colonel Jackson encamped at Cuthbert's Saw-mills. About eleven o'clock in the forenoon he was attacked by fifty loyalists and Indians, from Savannah, commanded by colonel Hezekiah Williams. The enemy had the first fire, and wounded two or three of Jackson's men. The bridges had been destroyed and the creek was not fordable. The parties were on opposite sides of the creek, and continued firing at long shot until near sun down, but without much effect. Jackson detached a party of infantry, with instructions to pass up the creek some distance, cross over and fall upon the enemy's rear; but they did not reach their destination until after Williams had retreated toward Savannah. Though provisions of every description were very scarce in the country, policy dictated to general Wayne the necessity of destroying such as could not be withdrawn from the control of the enemy. A considerable quantity of rice, not yet thrashed out, remained on Hutchinson's island opposite to Savannah, and so near the town as to be under cover of the enemy's guns. Governor Wright had cultivated an extensive rice farm, about half a mile south-east of the town, which also remained in the stack. Wayne finding that he could not gain possession of it for the use of his army, adopted a plan for its destruction. With this view he detached major Barnwell, of South-Carolina, with fifty men, in boats, who were ordered to pass down the north river which separates the island from Carolina, to burn all the rice upon the island, as well as on the main. Colonel

Jackson was ordered at the same time, with thirty dragoons, to pass through the swamps and destroy the rice upon Wright's plantation. The night of the 26th of February was fixed on for the execution of these plans. Jackson succeeded in dislodging the British piquets, burned the rice-barn, and retreated without any loss. He passed through an encampment as he was retiring, which was occupied by some refugees and their families; but finding a number of them sick and in great distress, he did not molest them. Major Barnwell was not so successful: a discovery was made of his plan, by the enemy, while he was collecting his boats, and his object being suspected, a considerable detachment was thrown over upon the island, by whom an ambuscade was formed; and as he passed down the river, he was fired upon; two of his men, Dobbins and Smith, were killed, and four wounded: one of his boats got aground, and three of the crew, who could not swim, were taken prisoners. Barnwell was compelled to retreat without accomplishing his object.

A party of Indians, passing from Savannah toward the Creek nation, had stolen some horses on the frontier of Liberty county. They were pursued by major Francis Moore, with fifteen men, by whom they were overtaken at Reid's bluff, in a log-house. Moore was close to the house before he discovered the Indians, and in open ground, where he could not commence an attack, except under great disadvantages; therefore he advanced under the pretence that his command consisted of royal militia. He gave his hand to some of the Indians who came to the door, but soon found he was suspected. He ordered his men to prepare for action: the Indians closed the door, and on the first fire Moore was killed and Smith wounded. Finding that the Indians had a superiority of numbers, and were too well fortified to be dislodged; captain Nephew, who then commanded, was compelled to retreat. Smith could not be carried off, consequently he was murdered so soon as he fell into the hands of the savages.

When the British general found that his bounds were likely to be contracted to narrow limits, he sent expresses to the Creek and Cherokee nations, requesting the assistance of the Indian allies. This assistance was promised by some of the leading warriors of both nations, but the defeats which they had received from Pickens, Clarke, and Anderson, had in some measure discouraged them. They had a general meeting in the spring, and there was a diversity of opinion among the chiefs whether they would adhere to the British or remain neuter. In consequence of this disunion, the Indians did not arrive at the time which they had appointed to join the British in Savannah. General Clarke's force did not exceed one thousand men, consequently was not deemed sufficient to defend the extensive works.

The 15th of May was named by the Indians as the time that they would be on the southern frontier of Georgia to join the British; but the disagreement in their councils had retarded their movements and considerably lessened their force. Keeping open a communication to the southward of Savannah, to prevent general Wayne from cutting off the promised assistance by the Indians, was an object of considerable importance to the British general. With this view, connected with the hope of collecting an additional supply of forage and provisions, general Clarke sent out one hundred men, on the 19th of May, consisting of volunteer militia and a few regulars, under the command of captains Ingram and Corker. They crossed great Ogeechee the next morning, and small detachments were employed collecting cattle. Having received no intelligence from the Indians, they re-crossed Ogeechee with the booty, on their return to Savannah.

Colonel Jackson had been watching the movements of the enemy, and communicated them to general Wayne, stating that he would take advantage of thick low woods through which they must pass, and annoy them in front and flank with his dragoons. Soon after the enemy had crossed the Ogeechee ferry, Jackson

attacked the front guard, and drove it in upon the main body: he then retreated about three miles to Struthers' plantation, where he posted his men on each side of the road, in a swamp; they gave captain Atwood's dragoons, who composed the front guard, another fire and retreated. Colonel Brown (who had been exchanged soon after he returned from Augusta,) was ordered out by general Clarke, with two hundred and sixty infantry, and eighty dragoons, to re-enforce the other detachment, which they joined at little Ogechee, eight miles from Savannah.

General Wayne had been regularly informed of these movements, and had put his whole force in motion to intercept the enemy's retreat. His van consisted of sixty infantry, under the command of captain Parker, and thirty dragoons under lieutenant Bowyer. Parker was directed to hasten his march, and take possession of Baillou's causeway. The difficulties which were presented in marching across a swampy country, retarded Wayne's movements so much, that he did not reach his destination until ten o'clock at night. When Parker reached the end of the causeway, he discovered a small patrol of cavalry in his front. Each party advanced until they met, and Parker demanded the countersign. The British officer, either from confusion or mistake, advanced in the attitude of friendship, until it was too late to correct his error. The officer and eighteen dragoons were taken prisoners, and only one escaped, and he gave colonel Brown the alarm, who was moving in column with his cavalry in front upon the causeway. Bowyer charged upon the dragoons, supported by the infantry. The British cavalry were thrown into confusion and pressed upon the columns of infantry, and the causeway was too narrow for either to act with effect; consequently the enemy were obliged to fall back. This was effected without much loss, as general Wayne could not get up in time to improve the advantages which Parker's position would have afforded him.

Five of the enemy were killed, and some wounded; among the

latter was colonel Douglass, second in command. Two of the American van were killed, and three wounded. During the day, colonel Jackson had two men killed and one wounded.

Wayne secured all the avenues of direct retreat to Savannah, and cherished the hope of forcing Brown to a general action the next morning; but the latter had a number of militia under his command, who had a perfect knowledge of the country. These guides led him through deep swamps by bye paths, at a right angle from the direct way, into the road leading from White-bluff, which Brown reached before day-light, and arrived safe in Savannah the next morning.

Some time previous to the rencounter which has been mentioned, a party of Creek Indians, coming to Savannah, on a trading expedition, were intercepted by general Wayne, but not in a hostile manner: some of them were detained as hostages, and the remainder permitted to return to their own country with friendly talks.

The American general assured them that the British forces were now confined within narrow limits in Charleston and Savannah; that they would soon be compelled to abandon the idea of conquest in America and retire to England. This mild treatment, accompanied by such assurances, it was supposed would deter the Indians from future hostilities. Though the grand council in the Cherokee and Creek nations, did not sanction a continuance of the war in alliance with Great-Britain; a few of their warriors determined on a compliance with the promise made to the British general in Savannah. With this view, about three hundred Creeks, headed by Guristersigo, who stood high in the opinion of his countrymen for bravery and military skill, set out from the nation for Savannah early in the month of June.

The secret movements which are uniformly observed by Indians when they are engaged in war, were scrupulously observed during their march. Having white guides, they passed down the southern frontier of Georgia unperceived, except by two

boys, who were taken and murdered. Guristersigo approached the vicinity of Wayne's camp, on the night of the 22d of June, and despatched his white guides and a few Indians to reconnoitre it. The party returned the next day and reported that general Wayne's main body was encamped at the plantation of Joseph Gibbons, seven miles from Savannah, and that his piquet was two miles in his advance, at Barrack Gibbons', from which there was a fine open road, which led direct to the town. To avoid Wayne, and carry the piquet by surprise, was determined on by the Indian chief; and for this purpose, he made the requisite dispositions for attack.

Fortunately for general Wayne, he changed his position on the afternoon of the 23rd, to the ground which had been occupied the preceding night by his piquet guard; supposing that he had no enemy near him, from which danger was to be apprehended, except in Savannah; he had taken the necessary precautions to have all the passes well guarded in that direction, and contented himself by posting a single sentinel on the road in his rear. Guristersigo having but fifteen miles to march through the settlement, did not enter it until after dark, and pursuing his route, reached the vicinity of the American camp about three o'clock in the morning.

Having made the requisite arrangements for battle, he sent forward a few daring warriors, with orders to spring upon the sentinel and murder him before he could give the alarm. This order was promptly executed. Guristersigo advanced with his whole force upon the rear of the American camp. The infantry flew to their arms, and the matrosses to their pieces of light field artillery. By this time the Indians were among them, which being perceived by captain Parker, he ordered a retreat to the quarter-guard, behind Gibbons' house, at head-quarters.

The general sprung to his horse; supposing that the whole British force from Savannah was in the margin of his camp, he ordered the bayonet to be vigorously resorted to, and called out, "death or victory." Similar orders were given to colonel Posey,

who commanded in camp, about two hundred yards from the house. The general had scarcely seated himself in the saddle, before his horse was shot and fell under him. Wayne advanced, sword in hand, at the head of captain Parker's infantry and the quarter-guard, with a determination to regain his field pieces, which he found in the possession of the Indians.

Guristersigo renewed the conflict with great gallantry, supposing he had only the piquet guard to contend with; but he was soon convinced that the rifle and tomahawk were unavailing, when opposed by the bayonet in close quarters. The artillery was soon recovered, and Guristersigo with seventeen of his warriors and white guides, lay dead upon the ground. The enemy fled with precipitancy and in confusion, leaving one hundred and seventeen pack-horses, loaded with peltry, on the field of battle. The pursuit was pressed into the woods, but of the active savages, only twelve were taken prisoners; who were shot a few hours afterward, by order of general Wayne.

The American loss was four killed and eight wounded. The defeated Indians retreated in small parties to the Creek nation.

When the limits of the British regulars were contracted, a number of those who adhered to the royal cause, were unwilling to be confined to a garrisoned sea-port town. General Clarke imagined that they could render him essential services, by retiring to the Cherokee nation. At the head of this clan was colonel Thomas Waters, who had formed a settlement on Hightower river, at the mouth of Long swamp creek, where himself and party had collected a number of negroes, horses, cattle, and other property, which they had plundered from the frontiers of Georgia and Carolina. General Pickens made application to the governor of South-Carolina, to carry another expedition into the Cherokee nation, to route this banditti and punish the Indians. Pickens' plan being approved of by the governor of Carolina, he sent an express to colonel Elijah Clarke, of Georgia, on the 5th of September, requesting the aid of part of his regiment, and fixed on the 16th, at Long creek, in Wilkes

county, as the time and place of rendezvous, with thirty days provision.

General Pickens' command consisted of three hundred and sixteen, and Clarke's of ninety-eight, including ten volunteers from Richmond county; making in the whole four hundred and fourteen, including the officers.

The general marched on the morning of the 19th in a western direction for the Chatahouchie river, which he reached and crossed on the 24th, at Beaver shoal. Pursuing their course on a small Indian trail, they met two Indians, who were taken prisoners. The information received from them was, that there were several Indian towns within the distance of ten or twelve miles, and from thence colonel Waters' party was about twenty miles.

The general detached colonel Robert Anderson with one hundred men, piloted by one of the Indian prisoners, to destroy the villages and towns upon the river. Colonel White was ordered down the river, with a detachment, for a similar purpose, while the general and colonel Clarke took a more direct course for colonel Waters' rendezvous, the destruction of which was the principal object of the expedition; but Waters' spies had discovered the army on the march, and gave him notice just in time to escape with his party. A few Indians were killed, and a number of women and children were taken prisoners. Anderson and White joined the main body in the afternoon, having killed eight Indians and destroyed a number of towns.

General Pickens sent out some of his prisoners in search of the chiefs, offering the olive branch, with assurances that no more of their towns should be destroyed, if they would surrender the white people among them, and enter into a treaty of peace: in the mean time the general marched from one town to another, to procure supplies of provisions and forage for his army.

Several of the chiefs met in the mountains and sent one of their principal head men, called the Terrapin, with a party of

warriors, and six of Waters' men prisoners; promising that every exertion should be made to take and bring in the others; acknowledging that these white men had occasioned the killing of their people, and the burning of their towns. On the 8th of October, colonel Clarke marched from Selacoa, with one hundred men, in pursuit of Waters, who had halted on the Estanala river, about sixty miles west of Long swamp; but Waters hearing of his advance, retreated through the Creek nation to St. Augustine. On the same day, captain Maxwell's company marched to Estanala town, where he took twenty-four negroes, the principal part of whom had been plundered by Waters' party from the inhabitants of Georgia and Carolina, a number of horses, and a quantity of peltry, with which he returned on the seventh day.

A number of the chiefs came in, and proposed to general Pickens, while he was at Selacoa, to hold a treaty at Long swamp, on the 17th, to which he agreed. On the day appointed, twelve chiefs and two hundred warriors appeared, and entered into temporary articles of treaty, which were afterwards to be confirmed by the whole nation, at such time and place as the governor of Georgia should appoint.

By this treaty, all the lands claimed by the Cherokees south of Savannah river, and east of the Chatahouchie, were to be surrendered to the state of Georgia, as the price of peace. The Indian trade was to be opened upon terms not less advantageous to the Indians, than that which had previously been carried on between them and the British government. These articles being signed by both parties, general Pickens returned to his former rendezvous, on Long creek, where the troops were discharged on the 22nd of October, and returned to their homes without the loss of one man. The general's whole command, could not produce a tent or any other description of camp equipage. After the small portion of bread, which they could carry in their saddlebags, was exhausted, they lived upon parched corn, potatoes, peas, and beef without salt, which they collected in the Indian towns.

Early in the succeeding year, the governor of Georgia invited the Cherokee chiefs to Augusta, finally to conclude the articles of treaty which had been temporarily entered into by general Pickens. Lyman Hall, John Twiggs, Elijah Clarke, William Few, Edward Telfair, and Samuel Elbert, esquires, were appointed commissioners on the part of the state, and the treaty was concluded on the 30th of May, 1783, when the present boundary line was established between the state of Georgia and the Cherokee nation.

Another treaty was made soon after with the Creek Indians, by which all the lands claimed by them, east of the Oconee river, were surrendered to the state of Georgia. These tracts of country were afterwards laid off into two counties; the former was called Franklin, and the latter Washington, and they were appropriated for the location of the bounty and state warrants.

The treaty with the Cherokees, at Augusta, was attended by general Pickens in person, with the original document. Why he was not invited to take a seat with the commissioners, is a little extraordinary. General Pickens had on all occasions tendered his services to the state, when it was menaced or attacked by an enemy.

The capture of two large armies under the command of general Burgoyne and lord Cornwallis, and the disasters which had befallen the British troops, on a variety of succeeding occasions, had rendered the war in America very unpopular in the British empire. The obstinate perseverance in the American character, for the attainment of freedom and independence, was not so easily crushed as at first expected by the British ministry.

At the opening of the preceding parliament, a settled determination was announced from the throne for a vigorous prosecution of the war against America, and these addresses were sanctioned in both houses by large majorities. In the course of the session, those who were opposed to the measures of the crown, had collected well authenticated documents, which were submitted for consideration. From these it was ascertained, that

in a war of seven years, but little progress had been made toward an attainment of the objects for which it had been commenced. Large sums of money had been spent; two entire armies had been lost, and many had been cut up in detail; and the question was asked, what had been gained? New-York, Charleston, and Savannah, were then in possession, all of which were literally blockaded by land; and that a powerful and expensive fleet was all that enabled them to hold possession of these cities.

The debates upon these subjects had some influence upon the minds of the ministry. It was at first determined to hold what had been gained in America, and withdraw the supernumerary forces, including the navy, to act against France and Spain. These powers had taken advantage of the absence of the British fleet, and by every possible means distressed the commerce of Great-Britain at home.

When these arrangements were made known to general Washington, he became urgent in his solicitations to congress to increase his force that he might be enabled to make one more grand effort to drive the British army from America: at the same time he urged general Greene to rouse up the southern militia, and use every means in his power to contract the enemy's limits in Charleston and Savannah, and cut off their supplies of provision.

It was fortunate for the United-States, that the sentiments of the British nation were not in unison with those of its sovereign. On the 29th of February, it was moved in the house of commons by general Conway, "That it is the opinion of this house, that a further prosecution of offensive war against America, would, under present circumstances, be the means of weakening the efforts of this country against her European enemies, and tend to increase the mutual enmity so fatal to the interests of both Great-Britain and America."

A change of ministry and policy soon succeeded. General Sir Guy Carlton was ordered to take the command of the British forces in American, and in conjunction with admiral Digby,

was appointed to negotiate a peace with the American government. Upon their arrival in New-York, propositions were made for a peace, or truce, with those colonies which had revolted against the British crown; intimating that others which had not revolted, or had been reduced by the British arms, were not to be included. The independence of the United-States was not explicitly acknowledged, nor was any notice taken of the treaty of alliance with France.

In reply to the propositions of the British commissioners, it was declared by a resolution of congress, that the basis of negotiation must be an acknowledgment of the independence of the United States, and in conjunction with his most christian majesty the king of France. The former was ultimately acknowledged upon certain conditions, but to the latter there were strong evidences of reluctance, and several months passed away in fruitless attempts at negotiation.

On the 2nd of May, general Leplie who commanded the British forces in the southern department, proposed to general Greene a cessation of hostilities. The latter declined entering into any stipulation of this sort, without authority from congress. It was understood however, that measures were in progress for withdrawing the British forces from America, and that terms of peace had been offered by Great-Britain to the American ministers at Paris.

About the 1st of July, general Wayne was visited by a deputation from the merchants of Savannah, under the protection of a flag, for the purpose of ascertaining the conditions upon which the British subjects might be permitted to remain in the city, after it should be evacuated by the British troops. They informed him that such an event was daily to be expected, in consequence of orders which had recently been received by general Clarke. General Wayne replied, that when the British garrison should be withdrawn from Savannah, he should feel bound, in his military capacity, to protect the persons and property of such as might remain; but that the ultimate disposal of both,

would be turned over to the civil authorities of the state; that his excellency the governor and his executive council were in the vicinity of the American camp, to whom he would submit the subject of their application, and give them an answer the next day.

General Wayne had a personal conference with governor Martin, and was requested to offer assurances of safety, for the persons and property of such inhabitants as chose to remain in Savannah, after it should be evacuated by the British troops; and that a reasonable time would be allowed them to dispose of their property and settle their pecuniary concerns in the state; but it was to be clearly understood, that such men as had been guilty of murder, or other atrocious offences, would be liable to be tried and punished according to the laws of the state. The governor refused to enter into any stipulations for the safety of culprits, who were amenable to the judicial tribunals of the state; alleging that the executive and judiciary were separate and distinct, by the constitution, and that the former had no control over the latter. These subjects were communicated to the deputation, by whom they were reported to the inhabitants of the town.

Another deputation was appointed upon the succeeding day, with instructions to enter into definitive terms and conditions, and that they might be well understood, it was requested that they should be reduced to writing: they were accordingly indulged in their wishes. This negotiation was principally confided to major John Habersham, an officer of the Georgia line, and a native of the city, whose personal character gave facility and confidence to the arrangements; having by the correctness of his conduct, and the polish of his manners, preserved a high standing, even among those who were inimical to the cause in which he was engaged. Satisfied with the assurances of protection which were given, many of the British subjects, who resided with their families in Savannah, discontinued the preparations which they had commenced for removal, and became

citizens of the United-States. Such of the loyalists as were unwilling to subscribe to the conditions proposed, removed with their families, and the property they had in possession, to Cockspur and Tybee islands, where they encamped until the transports were ready to sail. Among this number there were many, whose atrocious conduct during the war, would have placed their lives at great hazard, if they had been tried by the civil authorities of the state: others had in possession large fortunes, in negroes and other property, which had been plundered from their republican countrymen. According to the British accounts of that day, seven thousand persons sailed from Savannah, between the 12th and 25th of July, and consisted of the following descriptions: twelve hundred British regulars and loyalists; five hundred women and children; three hundred Indians; and five thousand negroes. Governor Wright and some of the civil and military officers went to Charleston in the *Princess Caroline*; general Clarke and part of the British regulars to New-York; Colonel Brown's rangers and the Indians to St. Augustine; and the remainder to the British West-India islands, under convoy of the *Zebra* frigate, *Vulture* sloop of war, and other armed vessels, which had been ordered to the coast of Georgia for the purpose. The same account states that from three fourths to seven eighths of the Georgia negroes had been carried off by the British.

The war in Georgia was now hastening to a close. The pleasing moment was fast approaching, when the war-worn veteran would be permitted to retire from the scene of blood, to the enjoyment of peace. The 11th of July was fixed for the embarkation of the British troops, and a formal surrender of the town was made to colonel James Jackson; and the American army entered and took possession of it the same day. Colonel Jackson was selected for this purpose, by general Wayne, as a compliment justly due for his faithful services during the whole war, in which he had often distinguished himself; but more particularly, for the hazardous services which he had re-

cently performed with his legion, in advance of the army. Upon this important occasion, the friends and families of the Americans in Savannah, received them with tears of joy and gratitude, but the surrounding country exhibited nothing but ruins and devastation, and threw a gloomy shade over their future prospects.

Colonel Posey, with the main body of general Wayne's army, marched in a few days to join general Greene, in South-Carolina; and general Wayne followed with the remainder a few days afterward. The metropolis of Georgia had been three years six months and thirteen days, in the entire possession of the enemy; and at several times, the whole state had been under the control of the British government. The number of the disaffected, to the republican government, appears by the act of confiscation and banishment, to have amounted to two hundred and eighty. A considerable number of them were afterward restored to the rights of citizenship, and some of them to the enjoyment of their property, upon paying twelve and a half per cent. upon the amount thus restored; and others upon paying eight per cent. into the public treasury.

No correct estimate can be made of the immense losses sustained by the inhabitants of Georgia, during the revolutionary war. The negroes, and other property, which was carried off; the houses, plantations, and produce, destroyed by fire; the loss of time, by constant military employment; the distressed condition of widows, who were left by the numerous murders committed upon the heads of families, and killed in the field of battle, seem to bid defiance to calculation. If the inhabited part of the state, with all the property it contained, had been valued at the commencement of the war, half of the amount would probably have been a moderate estimate of the loss.

On the 30th of November, provisional articles of a treaty were entered into by the commissioners of the United-States, and a commissioner on the part of Great-Britain, at Paris; but the articles contained in this treaty were not to be conclusive or

binding, until a treaty of peace should be agreed upon between France and England, which was then in progress. The definitive treaties between America, France, and England, were finally ratified at Paris on the 3rd of September, 1783.

The embarkation of the British army in Charleston, was suspended until late in December. The enemy had not a sufficiency of provisions for the voyage, and the sales of it were withheld to compel the restoration of the negroes and other private property, which had been plundered from the inhabitants; which was ultimately agreed to, but only partially complied with.

Immediately after the departure of the British from Georgia, a meeting of the legislature was called, in Savannah, by governor Martin, on the first Monday in August. Their attention was directed to the opening of the courts of justice, and the appointment of commissioners of confiscated sales. This session was short, as it was so soon to be succeeded by the constitutional meeting on the first Monday in January, 1784. Lyman Hall was appointed governor; George Walton, chief-justice; Samuel Stirk, attorney-general; John Milton, secretary of state; John Martin, treasurer; and Richard Call, surveyor-general. The land offices were opened, and bounty warrants granted to the officers and soldiers for military services. Public accounts were audited, according to the scale of depreciation, and the unappropriated proceeds of the confiscated property was converted into a sinking fund for the redemption of the public debt.

The valuable prize of freedom and independence was now obtained, and the people of America were left at liberty to live under a form of government of their own choice. The blood which flowed from the suffering patriots of that day, should never be forgotten; and the precious jewel which was purchased by it, should be preserved with courage and remembered with gratitude, by succeeding generations.

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NOTE—In the cases of little known individuals or places, every mention in the History is indicated in the Index. In the cases of well-known places and individuals, such as Savannah, Georgia, or General Lincoln, for example, only such references are indicated as are connected with leading events.

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